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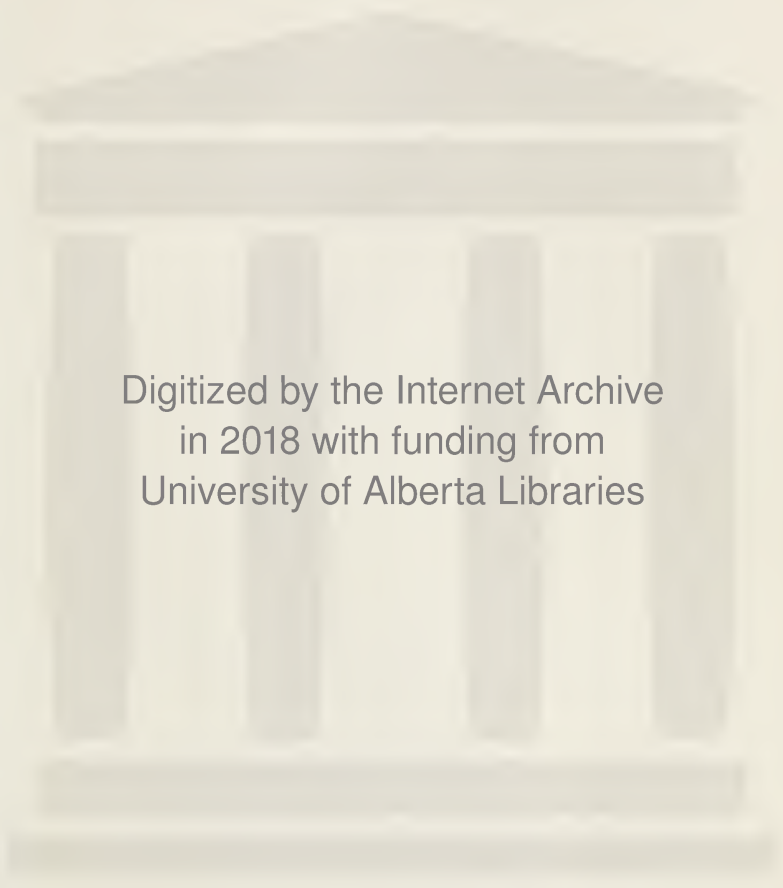
Selected sources from 1688 to modern times

J. Arthur Lower



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Today's World

Curriculum Resource Books Series

GENERAL EDITOR
Mollie E. Cottingham, M.A.
Faculty of Education
University of British Columbia

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Today's World

Selected Sources — 1688 to modern times

J. ARTHUR LOWER, M.A.,
UNIVERSITY HILL SECONDARY SCHOOL,
UNIVERSITY AREA, VANCOUVER, B.C.

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Preface

This is one of a series of resource books designed to encourage the student to think for himself. The young person living in Canada today has inherited a free society in a rapidly changing world. The way in which he will carry on and improve this world depends upon how he prepares himself to do so.

These books contain materials that will enable the student to draw his own conclusions about man, his activities upon this earth, and the manner in which he has described them. Some are books of geographical studies. By examining pictures, maps, charts, and descriptions of landscape the student will discover how man has been influenced both by culture and by natural setting, and how he has learned to use these to his advantage. Other books contain the raw materials of history. Inscriptions, news accounts, official documents, and letters of people who lived in the past provide some of the evidence from which history has been written.

The material in these books has been used successfully in various grades of the secondary schools. By design, the student is not asked to memorize the opinions of others, but rather to make his own analysis and draw his own conclusions, and then be prepared to defend or modify them in discussion with his teachers and his classmates.

Though this approach to learning may at first glance appear to be an innovation for secondary school students, it is in fact a return to one of the best traditions of education.

This book in the series includes excerpts from documents, letters, speeches and articles which illustrate events and influential trends in the last two centuries.

The items have been selected to introduce and expand modern history courses at the high school level. Although generally arranged in chronological order, selections were chosen to illustrate the following topics from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: the French Revolution, the Industrial Revolution, democracy, nationalism and imperialism. The latter part of the book includes articles and documents relevant to the twentieth century and contemporary events.

Twentieth-century history is largely an outgrowth from ideas and theories which evolved in Europe during the two previous centuries. For this reason most of the selections are from European sources.

This book does not pretend to be a complete history course. Selections have been chosen for interest, variety and enrichment. Each excerpt will provide supplementary material for one class period and, in some cases, may provide all the necessary materials for a complete period. However, the selections should spread over an entire course in modern history and for this reason seldom will two of them be used in consecutive lessons. Usage will depend on the individual teacher who may choose an excerpt to introduce a lesson, to close a lesson, or who may wish to vary his methods from one lesson to the next. The questions are suggestions for the guidance of both student and teacher. Above all the purpose of the excerpts is to create interest, to arouse curiosity and to lead the student to a better understanding of today's world.

*Part One: The Revolutionary
Era*

1 *The British Bill of Rights, 1688*

In 1689 William of Orange and Mary displaced James II from the throne of England in the "Glorious Revolution." Parliament insisted on the new rulers accepting the Bill of Rights which assured the supremacy of Parliament. This document is recognized as basic to British principles of government. Below are some of the more significant clauses.

The pretended Power of dispensing or suspending of laws, or the Execution of Laws by Regal Authority without the Consent of Parliament, is illegal:

The levying of Money for or to the Use of the Crown . . . without Grant of Parliament, is illegal:

It is the Right of the Subjects to petition the King . . .

The Raising or Keeping of a Standing Army within the Kingdom in time of Peace, unless it be with the Consent of Parliament, is against Law:

Subjects, which are Protestants, may provide and keep arms, for their common Defence:

Election of Members of Parliament ought to be free:

The Freedom of Speech and Debates or Proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or Place out of Parliament:

Excessive Bail ought not to be required, nor excessive Fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual Punishments inflicted:

There be Provision . . . made . . . [that] every King and Queen . . . take an Oath for the maintaining of the Protestant Religion.

Great Britain, House of Commons Journals, Vol. 10, 7 February 1688, p. 22.

1. Describe how William of Orange became King of England.
2. Which group of people invited William to become King?
3. What earlier events in British history might be considered the reasons for drafting each of the first five clauses?
4. What is meant by the following:
 - (a) pretended power
 - (b) suspending laws
 - (c) dispensing with laws
 - (d) impeach

5. What is the value of the monarchy to (a) England (b) Canada today?
 6. Can you think of any instance where any one of these rights has been denied in Canada? What is your authority for saying so? Discuss the reasons for such denial.
-

2 *Le Roi Soleil: Louis XIV and the Old Régime, 1752*

Louis XIV ruled France from 1643 to 1715. Under him the French court reached its most glorious period in pageantry and influence. The reign of Louis XIV is an excellent example of government under an absolute monarch and reveals much of the reason for the French Revolution which followed under his great-grandson Louis XVI. This period of French history is known as the old régime.

The following excerpt is taken from the Memoirs of the Duke of Saint-Simon (1675-1755) which were completed in 1752, many years after the death of Louis XIV. The Memoirs are a collection of official documents, court gossip, anecdotes and memories. They cannot be considered as unbiased historical facts and should not be accepted as unquestionably reliable. They do present us with some interesting descriptions of French court life and from this viewpoint have definite value. It is difficult to believe that Louis XIV was as petty as he is shown in the selection.

At twenty-three years of age Louis XIV entered the great world as King, under the most favourable auspices. His ministers were the most skilful in all Europe; his generals the best; his Court was filled with illustrious and clever men, formed during the troubles which had followed the death of Louis XIII.

Louis XIV was made for a brilliant Court. In the midst of other men, his figure, his courage, his grace, his beauty, his grand mien, even the tone of his voice and the majestic and natural charm of all his person, distinguished him till his death as the King Bee, and showed that if he had only been born a simple private gentleman, he would equally have excelled in fêtes, pleasures, and gallantry, and would have had the greatest success in

love. The intrigues and adventures which early in life he had been engaged in . . . had exercised an unfortunate influence upon him: he received those impressions with which he could never after successfully struggle. From this time, intellect, education, nobility of sentiment, and high principle, in others, became objects of suspicion to him, and soon of hatred. The more he advanced in years, the more this sentiment was confirmed in him. He wished to reign by himself. His jealousy on this point unceasingly became weakness. He reigned, indeed, in little things; the great he could never reach. . . . The superior ability of his early ministers and his early generals soon wearied him. He liked nobody to be in any way superior to him. Thus he chose his ministers, not for their knowledge, but for their ignorance; not for their capacity, but for their want of it. . . . It was the same with his generals. He . . . wished it to be thought that he commanded and directed all his armies. Naturally fond of trifles, he unceasingly occupied himself with the most petty details of his troops, his household, his mansions; would even instruct his cooks, who received, like novices, lessons they had known by heart for years. This vanity, this unmeasured and unreasonable love of admiration, was his ruin. His ministers, his generals, his mistresses, his courtiers, soon perceived his weakness. They praised him with emulation and spoiled him. Praises, or to say truth, flattery, pleased him to such an extent, that the coarsest was well received, the vilest even better relished. It was the sole means by which you could approach him.

. . . And yet, it must be admitted, he might have done better. Though his intellect, as I have said, was beneath mediocrity, it was capable of being formed. He loved glory, was fond of order and regularity; was by disposition prudent, moderate, discreet, master of his movements and his tongue. Will it be believed? He was also by disposition good and just. God had sufficiently gifted him to enable him to be a good King; perhaps even A TOLERABLY GREAT KING! . . . He was scarcely taught how to read or write, and remained so ignorant, that the most familiar historical and other facts were utterly unknown to him. He fell, accordingly, and sometimes even in public, into the grossest absurdities. . . .

. . . He was exceedingly jealous of the attention paid him. Not only did he notice the presence of the most distinguished courtiers, but those of inferior degree also. He looked to the right and to the left, not only upon rising but upon going to bed, at his meals, in passing through his apartments, or his gardens of Versailles, where alone the courtiers were allowed to follow him; he saw and noticed everybody; not one escaped him, not even those who hoped to remain unnoticed. He marked well all absentees from the Court, found out the reason of their absence, and never lost an opportunity of acting toward them as the occasion might seem to justify. With some of the courtiers (the most distinguished), it was a demerit not

to make the Court their ordinary abode; with others it was a fault to come but rarely; for those who never or scarcely ever came it was certain disgrace. When their names were in any way mentioned, "I do not know them," the King would reply haughtily. Those who represented themselves but seldom were thus characterized: "They are people I never see;" these decrees were irrevocable. He could not bear people who liked Paris.

Louis XIV took great pains to be well informed of all that passed everywhere; in the public places, in the private houses, in society, and familiar intercourse. His spies and tell-tales were infinite. He had them of all species; many who were ignorant that their information reached him; others who knew it; others who wrote to him direct, sending their letters through channels he indicated; and all these letters were seen by him alone, and always before everything else; others who sometimes spoke to him secretly in his cabinet, entering by the back stairs. These unknown means ruined an infinite number of people of all classes, who never could discover the cause; often ruined them very unjustly; for the King, once prejudiced, never altered his opinion, or so rarely, that nothing was more rare. He had, too, another fault, very dangerous for others and often for himself, since it deprived him of good subjects. He had an excellent memory; in this way, that if he saw a man who, twenty years before, perhaps, had in some manner offended him, he did not forget the man, though he might forget the offence. This was enough, however, to exclude the person from all favour. The representations of a minister, of a general, of his confessor even, could not move the King. He would not yield. . . .

A word of contempt against the King or the Government, a joke, a detached phrase, was enough. It is incredible how many people, justly or unjustly, were more or less ruined, always without resource, without trial, and without knowing why.

Duke of Saint-Simon (trans. Boyle St. John), *Memoirs of Louis XIV and the Regency*. M. Walter Dunne, London, 1901. Vol. 2, p. 359 ff.

1. What is meant by "absolute monarchy"? How does this passage show that Louis XIV was an absolute monarch?
2. What details seem to you especially unworthy of a leader with responsibilities?
3. How did Louis XIV learn about the living conditions and needs of the common people? Why did he often receive false information?
4. What does this passage show the weakness of absolute monarchy to be?
5. Why did most of the nobility live in Versailles?
6. Who would be obliged to pay the bill for keeping up such an expensive court?
7. Louis XIV called himself a "benevolent" despot. What is meant by

benevolent? despot? Why did he consider himself to be a successful king of France?

8. Wherein do you observe the promise of revolution?
9. Do any rulers in the world today attempt to govern in such despotic fashion? Where? How long do you think they will last?
10. Give examples of biased accounts of recent events which should be read with some scepticism.

3 *Letters on the English, 1734*

Voltaire was one of the leading critics of the French régime in the eighteenth century. In his early years his writings resulted in his being twice exiled from Paris and twice imprisoned in the Bastille. In his later years he was one of the most famous and dominant literary figures in Europe. Two years spent in exile in England considerably influenced his outlook. The following excerpts from Letters on the English, 1734, were probably based upon actual letters sent by Voltaire to a friend while the author was in England. They reveal his admiration for the freedom of speech and the parliamentary system of England.

The English are the only people upon the earth who have been able to prescribe limits to the power of kings by resisting them; and who, by a series of struggles, have at last established that wise Government where the Prince is all powerful to do good, and, at the same time, is restrained from committing evil; where the nobles are great without insolence, though they are no vassals; and where the people share in the Government without confusion. . . .

No one is exempted in this country from paying certain taxes because he is a nobleman or a priest. All duties and taxes are settled by the House of Commons, whose power is greater than that of the Peers, though inferior to it in dignity. The . . . Lords have the liberty to reject a Money Bill brought in by the Commons; but they are not allowed to alter anything in it, and must pass or throw it out without restriction. When the Bill has passed the Lords and is signed by the king, then the whole nation pays,

every man in proportion to his revenue or estate, not according to his title, which would be absurd. There is no such thing as an arbitrary subsidy or poll-tax, but a real tax on the lands. . . .

In France the title of marquis is given gratis to any one who will accept of it; and whosoever arrives at Paris from the midst of the most remote provinces with money in his purse, and a name terminating in *ac* or *ille*, may strut about and cry, "Such a man as I! A man of my rank and figure!" and may look down upon a trader with sovereign contempt; whilst the trader on the other side, by thus often hearing his profession treated so disdainfully, is fool enough to blush at it. However, I need not say which is most useful to a nation: a lord, powdered to the tip of the mode, who knows exactly at what o'clock the king rises and goes to bed, and who gives himself airs of grandeur and state, at the same time that he is acting the slave in the ante-chamber of a prime minister; or a merchant who enriches his country. . . .

Voltaire: *Letters on the English*, The Harvard Classics, Vol. 34, P. F. Collier & Son, New York, pp. 87, 92, 94.

1. What are the "series of struggles" in England to which Voltaire refers?
2. What are some of the "evils" which by this time English kings were restrained from committing?
3. What was the basis of taxation in England at this time?
4. In paragraph three above the privileged classes are described. Who were they?
5. Why would the trader be "fool enough to blush"?
6. Voltaire's description of England is a subtle criticism of France. If a Frenchman of that time were reading this excerpt, what are some of the contrasts which might make him dissatisfied?
7. Do we have any people in our society today who "strut about and cry, 'Such a man as I!'"? If so, what conditions make it difficult to behave thus for very long?

4

Discourse on the Origin of Inequality, 1754

Although he had an unhappy life, Jean Jacques Rousseau was one of the most popular writers of the eighteenth century. His influence on the thinking of his time was profound, and even today, educational practice is affected by his theories. Among these theories was a belief in the "goodness of nature." Rousseau believed that in their primitive natural state men were happy and equal, but that this equality disappeared when men acquired property and industry was introduced. Laws were originally instituted as a contract between the people, but they became the means of preserving inequality. The following excerpts are from the latter part of the Discourse after Rousseau has traced the development of inequality from the time of primitive savages to civilized society. Possibly Rousseau's most famous phrase is "Man was born free, but everywhere he is in chains." This belief can be seen in the passages quoted.

As an unbroken courser erects his mane, paws the ground, and rages at the bare sight of the bit, while a trained horse patiently suffers both whip and spur, just so the barbarian will never reach his neck to the yoke which civilized man carries without murmuring but prefers the most stormy liberty to a calm subjection. It is not therefore by the servile disposition of enslaved nations that we must judge of the natural dispositions of man for or against slavery, but by the prodigies done by every free people to secure themselves from oppression. I know that the first are constantly crying up that peace and tranquillity they enjoy in their irons, but when I see the others sacrifice pleasures, peace, riches, power and even life itself to the preservation of that single jewel so much slighted by those who have lost it; when I see free-born animals through a natural abhorrence of captivity dash their brains out against the bars of their prison; when I see multitudes of naked savages despise European pleasures, and brave hunger, fire and sword, and death itself to preserve their independency; I feel that it belongs not to slaves to argue concerning liberty. . . .

. . . original man vanishing by degrees, society no longer offers to our inspection but an assemblage of artificial men . . . which are the work of all these new relations and have no foundation in nature. . . . Savage man and civilized man differ so much at bottom in point of inclinations and

passions, that what constitutes the supreme happiness of one would reduce the other to despair. The first sighs for nothing but repose and liberty; he desires only to live, and to be exempt from labour. . . . On the contrary the citizen is always in motion, is perpetually sweating and toiling, and racking his brains to find out occupations still more laborious. He continues a drudge to his last minute; nay, he courts death to be able to live, or renounces life to acquire immortality. He cringes to men in power whom he hates, and to rich men whom he despises; he sticks at nothing to have the honour of serving them; he is not ashamed to value himself on his own weakness and the protection they afford him; and proud of his chains, he speaks with disdain of those who have not the honour of being the partner of his bondage. . . . How many cruel deaths would not [an] indolent savage prefer to such a horrid life, which very often is not even sweetened by the pleasure of doing good? But to see the drift of so many cares, his mind should first have affixed some meaning to these words power and reputation: he should be apprised that there are men who consider as something the looks of the rest of mankind, who know how to be happy and satisfied with themselves on the testimony of others sooner than upon their own. In fact, the real source of all those differences is that the savage lives within himself, whereas the citizen knows only how to live in the opinion of others. . . .

. . . everything, being reduced to appearances, becomes mere art and mummery; honour, friendship, virtue, and often vice itself . . . how, in short, ever inquiring of others what we are, and never daring to question ourselves on so delicate a point, in the midst of so much philosophy, humanity, and politeness, and so many sublime maxims, we have nothing to show for ourselves but a deceitful and frivolous exterior, honour without virtue, reason without wisdom, and pleasure without happiness. It is sufficient that I have proved that this is not the original condition of man, and that it is merely the spirit of society, and the inequality which society engenders that thus change and transform all our natural inclinations.

Rousseau, *A Discourse upon the Origin and the Foundation of Inequality among Mankind*. The Harvard Classics. Vol. 34. P. F. Collier & Son, N.Y. pp. 221, 232-3.

1. According to Rousseau, what are some of the advantages enjoyed by primitive man?
2. What is the "single jewel" referred to in the first paragraph?
3. Explain how there can be "reason without wisdom" and "pleasure without happiness."
4. Can you name some men who "court death to be able to live"? who "renounce life to acquire immortality"? Explain how these phrases apply to them.

5. Do you disagree with any of Rousseau's statements about civilized man? Explain.
 6. What do you consider to be some of your "chains"?
-

5 *The Wealth of Nations, 1776*

The Wealth of Nations by Adam Smith, first published in 1776, stated that capital could best be used to produce and distribute wealth if there were no government controls upon industry and trade such as those imposed by the mercantile system. The book did not affect the economy of Britain until after 1815. Then many thinkers became supporters of these theories, known as "laissez-faire." In spite of Adam Smith's opinion, expressed in the last paragraph below, Britain did adopt free trade after 1850. The following excerpts show some of the arguments against government interference.

To give the monopoly of the home-market to the produce of domestic industry, in any particular art or manufacture, is in some measure to direct private people in what manner they ought to employ their capital, and must, in almost all cases, be either a useless or a hurtful regulation. If the produce of domestic can be brought there as cheap as that of foreign industry, the regulation is obviously useless. If it cannot, it must be generally hurtful. It is the maxim of the prudent master of a family never to attempt to make at home what it will cost him more to make than to buy. The taylor does not attempt to make his own shoes, but buys them of the shoemaker. The shoemaker does not attempt to make his own clothes, but employs a taylor. The farmer attempts to make neither the one nor the other, but employs those different artificers. All of them find it for their interest to employ their whole industry in a way in which they have some advantage over their neighbours, and to purchase with a part of its produce, or what is the same thing, with the price of part of it, whatever else they have occasion for.

What is prudence in the conduct of every private family, can scarce be folly in that of a great kingdom. If a foreign country can supply us with

a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it off them with some part of the produce of our own industry, employed in a way in which we have some advantage. The general industry of the country, being always in proportion to the capital which employs it, will not thereby be diminished . . . but only left to find out the way in which it can be employed with the greatest advantage. It is certainly not employed with the greatest advantage, when it is . . . directed towards an object which it can buy cheaper than it can make. . . .

By means of such regulation, indeed, a particular manufacture may sometimes be acquired sooner than it could have been otherwise, and after a certain time may be made at home as cheap or cheaper than in the foreign country. But . . . it will by no means follow that the sum total, either of its industry or of its revenue, can ever be augmented by such regulation.

There seem to be two cases in which it will generally be advantageous to lay some burden upon the foreign, for the encouragement of domestic industry.

The first is when some particular sort of industry is necessary for the defence of the country. . . .

The second case . . . is when some tax is imposed at home upon the produce of the latter. In this case, it seems reasonable that an equal tax should be imposed upon the like produce of the foreign.

To expect, indeed, that the freedom of trade should ever be entirely restored in Great Britain, is as absurd as to expect that a Utopia should ever be established in it. Not only the prejudices of the public, but what is much more unconquerable, the private interests of many individuals, irresistibly oppose it.

Adam Smith: *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, The Harvard Classics, Vol. 10, P. F. Collier & Son, N.Y., pp. 352, 359, 368.

1. What is meant by "laissez-faire"?
2. How did government control industry and trade at the time this book was written?
3. Under what circumstances is it better to import a commodity rather than to purchase the same item made at home?
4. Are there any circumstances under which the article produced at home should be favoured? What are they?
5. What are some commodities Canada can buy more cheaply than it can produce? What are some of the commodities Canada can best produce for world trade?
6. Give examples of products which Canada should produce because they might be necessary for defence.
7. Give examples of important Canadian industries which have grown

from small beginnings because they were protected by government regulations.

8. What effect could the principle of “laissez-faire” have upon workers in industry?

6 *American Declaration of Independence, 1776*

On July 4, 1776, delegates from the thirteen American colonies announced their separation from Britain. The following excerpt from the statement was written almost entirely by Thomas Jefferson, and was published by the delegates.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed,— That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government. . . .

The Times: Popular Reprints and other Historical Documents (n.d.), R. Meek & Co., London.

1. What important event in American history followed this declaration?
2. What is meant by “unalienable”?
3. According to this statement, who is responsible for the formation of governments?
4. In what two ways can men be considered equal?
5. In what two ways can men be considered not equal?
6. Which rights in our democracy are most important to you? Why?
7. Explain why, according to this statement, the American people were justified in rebelling.

7 *The Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, 1789*

In 1789 the Estates-General was called together in France. At first it consisted of three separate "Estates" known as First, Second and Third Estates, consisting of the clergy, nobility and commoners. The Third Estate insisted that all meet as one legislative body to be known as the National Assembly. A few months after its formation the National Assembly issued a statement of its beliefs. This Declaration is the basis of French democratic government just as is Magna Carta for the British government and the Constitution of the United States for the American government. Below are some of the clauses.

1. Men are born, and remain, free and equal in rights . . .
2. The natural and inalienable rights of man; these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.
3. The source of all sovereignty resides essentially in the nation.
4. Liberty consists of the power to do whatever is not injurious to others . . . such limits to be determined only by law.
5. The law has the right to forbid only actions injurious to society.
6. Law is the expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur personally or through their representatives in its formation. It must be the same for all, whether it protects or punishes.
7. No man may be accused, arrested, or detained, except in the cases determined by the law. . . .
9. Every man is presumed innocent until declared guilty. . . .
10. Free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man. Consequently every citizen may speak, write and print freely, subject to responsibility for the abuse of such liberty, in the cases determined by law.
14. Citizens have the right, by themselves or through their representatives . . . to determine the necessity of public tax. . . .
17. Since property is a sacred and inviolable right, no one may be deprived of it unless a legally established public necessity requires it.

Stewart, John Hall: *A Documentary Survey of the French Revolution*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1951, p. 114.

1. What classes of people were represented in the Assembly which issued this statement?
 2. Which statements are similar to the Declaration of Independence?
 3. According to this Declaration what are men's "rights"?
 4. Which statements assert the right to freedom of speech?
 5. Which statements refer to men's right to share in the government?
 6. To whom would the vote be given?
 7. When may a government seize private property? What must be done first?
 8. What is meant by "sovereignty"? (Clause 3)
 9. With which of these clauses would modern Communism disagree?
 10. What limitations are there to freedom of action? Why must this be so?
 11. What habits should you now be forming in school to ensure that you will be able to uphold the rights expressed in Clause 10?
 12. Choose three of these statements which you consider most important in a democracy, and defend your choice by using examples.
 13. What obligations must citizens accept if these rights are to be preserved?
-

8

French Declaration of War on Austria, 1792

In 1792 the French government declared war on Austria. Within a short time most European nations were involved. The wars of Napoleon followed and Europe was to be almost continuously in conflict for over twenty years.

The National Assembly, deliberating upon the formal proposal of the King, considering that the Court of Vienna, in contempt of treaties, has continued to grant open protection to the French rebels; that it has instigated and formed a concert with several European powers against the independence and security of the French nation;

That Francis II, King of Hungary and Bohemia, has refused, by his notes of 18 March and 7 April last, to renounce such concert;

That in spite of the proposal made to him in the note of 11 March,

1792, to reduce the frontier troops of both sides to peace footing, he has continued and augmented hostile preparations;

That he has formally attacked the sovereignty of the French nation by declaring his wish to support the pretensions of the German princes owning lands in France, and to whom the French nation has continued to offer indemnities;

That he has sought to divide French citizens and arm them against one another by offering support to malcontents through the concert of powers;

Finally, considering that his refusal to reply to the last dispatches of the King of the French leaves no hope of obtaining amicable negotiation, the redress of these several grievances, and is equivalent to a declaration of war;

Decrees urgency

The National Assembly declares that the French nation, faithful to the principles consecrated by its Constitution *not to undertake any war with a view to making conquests, and never to employ its forces against the liberty of any people*, takes arms only to maintain its liberty and independence;

That the war which it is forced to undergo is not a war of nation against nation, but the just defence of a free people against the unjust aggression of a king;

That Frenchmen will never mistake their brothers for their real enemies; that they will neglect nothing to alleviate the scourge of war, to spare and preserve property, and to cause all the misfortunes concomitant with war to descend upon those who league themselves against their liberty . . .

Stewart, John Hall: *A Documentary Survey of the French Revolution*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1951, p. 287.

1. Which king is referred to in the first paragraph?
2. What French rebels had left France to seek the protection of the Court of Vienna? What was the French name for them?
3. Consult a map of Europe to determine which European countries formed the "concert."
4. Why were these nations forming a "concert" against France?
5. For what reason did the National Assembly feel obliged to take up arms?
6. Whom did they consider the aggressor?
7. Why was it not the French King who declared war?
8. What part of this statement was meant to appeal to the common people of other lands?
9. In what way could the common people of France respect the liberty

of the common people of other nations once they were at war? Could this be done in modern warfare?

10. The French Revolution has been credited with spreading democratic ideas throughout Europe. How does this Declaration express this intention?

9 *Bonaparte's Proclamations to the Army of Italy, 1796*

MARCH 27 AND APRIL 26, 1796

(7 GERMINAL AND FLORÉAL YEAR IV)

After Napoleon had saved the Directory from an uprising in Paris he was given command of the French army facing Italy. This was one of the weakest of the French armies, and little was expected from it. Below is Napoleon's message to this group of neglected, dispirited men when he first took command. The second proclamation was made a month later.

Soldiers, you are naked, ill fed! The Government owes you much; it can give you nothing. Your patience, the courage you display in the midst of these rocks, are admirable; but they procure you no glory, no fame is reflected upon you. I seek to lead you into the most fertile plains in the world. Rich provinces, great cities will be in your power. There you will find honour, glory, and riches. Soldiers of Italy, would you be lacking in courage and constancy?

Soldiers: In a fortnight you have won six victories, taken twenty-one standards, fifty-five pieces of artillery, several strong positions, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont; you have captured 15,000 prisoners and killed or wounded more than 10,000 men.

Heretofore you have fought for sterile rocks, made famous by your prowess, but useless to the *Patrie*; today, by your accomplishments you equal the armies of Holland and the Rhine. Destitute of everything, you have supplied everything. You have won battles without cannon, crossed rivers without bridges, made forced marches without shoes, camped without brandy and often without bread. Soldiers of liberty, only republican phalanxes could have endured what you have endured. Soldiers, you have our thanks! The greatful *Patrie* will owe its prosperity to you . . .

The two armies which but recently attacked you with audacity are fleeing before you in terror; the wicked men who laughed at your misery and rejoiced at the thought of the triumphs of your enemies are confounded and trembling.

But, soldiers, as yet you have done nothing compared with what remains to be done

. . . Undoubtedly the greatest obstacles have been overcome; but you still have battles to fight, cities to capture, rivers to cross. Is there one among you whose courage is abating? . . . No, . . . All of you are consumed with a desire to extend the glory of the French people; all of you long to humiliate those arrogant kings who dare to contemplate placing us in fetters; . . . all of you wish to be able to say with pride as you return to your villages, "I was with the victorious army of Italy!"

Friends, I promise you this conquest; but there is one condition you must swear to fulfill — to respect the people whom you liberate, to repress the horrible pillaging committed by scoundrels incited by our enemies. Otherwise you would not be the liberators of the people; you would be their scourge. . . . Plunderers will be shot without mercy; already several have been

Peoples of Italy, the French army comes to break your chains; the French people is the friend of all peoples; approach it with confidence; your property, your religion, and your customs will be respected.

We are waging war as generous enemies, and we wish only to crush the tyrants who enslave you.

Stewart, John Hall: *A Documentary Survey of the French Revolution*, Macmillan Co., New York, 1951, p. 672.

1. In his first message what did Napoleon mean by "these rocks," "most fertile plains"?
2. Which sections of the speech make reference to the democratic achievements of the French Revolution?
3. One of the most influential effects of Napoleon on later European history was the fact that he spread ideas of reform and nationalism. Which parts of his statement uphold this theory?
4. Find out how successful Napoleon was in this campaign against Italy.
5. If you were a member of the army, why would this proclamation appeal to you?
6. Do these appeals remind you of a famous speech invoking courage and action made during the Second World War? Who made the speech? Upon what occasion?

*Part Two: The Nineteenth
Century*

10

Conditions in the Factories in the Nineteenth Century, 1833

In the factories of England during the early years of the Industrial Revolution there were no laws to protect the workers. Supported by the theory of "laissez-faire," factory owners attempted to obtain labour as cheaply as possible. Paupers' children could be obtained as apprentices for barely enough to keep them alive. A factory act in 1802 attempted to improve these conditions, but the British were too involved with the war against Napoleon to insist on the regulations imposed by this act. Although other acts were passed there was little inspection of factories and the owners continued to use women and children. By 1830 opposition to the evil conditions had become so strong that Parliament was forced to act. Under the chairmanship of Michael Sadler, who had been one of the most persistent agitators for reform, a government commission was established.

Although the chairman was prejudiced, and therefore there is some doubt whether the commission was biased to show conditions at their worst, there was undoubtedly much truth in some of the evidence. As a result of the committee's report the Factory Act of 1833 was passed. Among other things it stated that in the textile industries no child under nine could be employed, children between nine and thirteen were not to work more than nine hours a day or forty-eight hours a week and must spend three hours a day in school, and effective inspection was established.

The following excerpts from the report include the commissioner's description of pin-heading and the typical evidence given by a worker.

The process of pin-heading is carried on in the following way:

A large room is filled with small tables at which sit four children; about thirty or forty in a room, and certainly the ages lower than I should suppose could be employed in any gainful occupation. The majority of those I saw did not appear to be above seven or eight, and in fact the scene, as far as respects the ages of the children, reminded me more of an infant school than anything else I had ever witnessed. A sort of frame is fixed before each child, on which is suspended a heavy weight, which is kept in perpetual motion by the child pressing his foot on a treadle beneath the table; and the continued thumping noise close to the infant's ear seems well

calculated to produce the ear ache described by the preceding witness. Each child is in a position continually bent in the form of a letter C, its head being about eight inches from the table and both its hands employed in lifting up the shanks and putting heads on them, which heads are tightened by blows from the weight suspended before it.

On questioning parents concerning their children's employment, they complained of the effect which it had upon the eyes, and one woman told me that she had taken her child from the trade as it was losing its sight. . . . It being the practice of parents to borrow sums of money on the credit of their children's labour, and then let them out to pin-heading till it was paid.

On the whole, the employment of pin-heading seemed to me the most irksome and monotonous without exception I had ever witnessed.

WILLIAM TAYLOR, PIN-HEADER, AGED 12

What is your business — Pinheading.

Have you been long at it — Near 7 years. I went when I was about 6 years old.

How many hours a day do you work — I come at 6 o'clock the morning, and I must work till after 8 at night.

When do you eat — About 20 past 8 I had breakfast. Sometimes I've a bagging at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 and sometimes I haven't because I can't get it.

How long are you at breakfast — Half an hour, and an hour at dinner at $\frac{1}{4}$ past 12, and $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour at bagging.

Do you generally work 12 hours daily — Yes.

At what age do they generally begin — I have two little brothers in the shop and they both began at 6.

Are there many children in your shop — Yes there is a little lad 5 years old.

Are the children ever beaten in your shop — Yes, if they won't mind their work.

British Sessional Papers, House of Commons, 1833, Vol. I, pp. 41, 43.

1. Why would parents permit such young children to work in factories?
2. What changes were made by the Factory Act of 1833?
3. What is the minimum age for factory workers today in Canada?
What is the length of the work week?
4. Can you think of any industrial work today which is injurious to health? What control regulations are imposed to protect the workers?
5. Mention some work which is undertaken today by young boys and girls? How young are they?
6. If the working conditions described above were allowed to continue what effect would they have upon the nation?

11 *The Mines Commission of 1842*

Although conditions in the factories had been somewhat improved by government legislation, conditions in British mines continued to be shocking. Young girls and boys worked for long hours without seeing daylight and for pitifully low wages.

Agitation for improvements forced the government to establish investigations under the chairmanship of such men as Michael Sadler and Lord Ashley. As a result of their work the Mines Act of 1842 excluded boys under eleven, as well as all girls and women, from working in the coal pits.

The following two descriptions are from the commission report.

JANE MOFFATT, 12 YEARS OLD, COAL-PUTTER

(Works from six morning till six night, alternate weeks on night shift. Descends at six at night and returns at five or six in morning.)

I pull the waggons of 4 or 5 cwt. from the men's room to the horse-road. We are worse off than the horses as they draw on iron rails — we on flat floors.

We have no meals below. Some of us get pieces of bread when we can save it from the rats which are so ravenous that they eat the corks out of our oil flasks.

I draw the carts through the narrow seams. The roads are 24 to 30 in. high; draw in harness which passes over my shoulders and back; the cart is fastened to my chain.

The place of work is very wet and covers my shoe-tops.

I work on my mother's account with sister, as father was killed in the pit 5 years since. There are often accidents below.

Mother has 8 children. 3 of us work below: we are her only support.

(Can read, knows Scripture very well; can sign her name but very indifferently.)

MARGARET WATSON, 16 YEARS OF AGE, COAL-BEARER

I was first taken below to carry coals when I was six years old, and have never been away from the work, except for a few evenings in the summer months.

Most of us work from 3 in the morning till 4 or 5 at night. I make 20 rakes a day and 30 when mother bides at home. What I mean by a rake is a journey from the day-light with my wooden bucket to the coal-wall, and back with my coal to the daylight where I throw the coal on father's hill and return. (The pit is $8\frac{1}{2}$ fathom deep, descended by a turnpike stair and wall-face 100 fathoms distant from pit bottom.)

I carry 2 cwt. on my back, never less than $1\frac{1}{2}$ cwt. I know what the weight of 1 cwt. is though I cannot say how many pounds are in it.

I never was taught to sew, much more shape a dress, yet I stitch up my pit clothes.

British Sessional Papers, House of Commons, 1842, Vol. 16, pp. 449, 458.

1. How long is a fathom? How far did Margaret carry the coal? How much is one cwt?
2. Why would young children be used to pull carts?
3. How many hours a week would these girls work? (They would have a six-day week.)
4. What men were responsible for the Mines Act of 1842? What changes did this act make?
5. What is the minimum age required before a person may take steady employment in your community? What are the average weekly hours of work? What dangers and unpleasant conditions are still faced by miners? What are some of the safety measures taken in modern mines?
6. Can you think of mines anywhere in the world today where working conditions might be very poor?

12

The Duties of Man, 1844

Giuseppe Mazzini, Italian patriot and writer, was one of the most influential leaders for Italian unity. An idealist, Mazzini preached three basic doctrines: the unification of Italy, the substitution of republican types of government for monarchies, and the brotherhood of all peoples. His writings were a great inspiration to the liberals and the youth of Italy and to other suppressed peoples. The following excerpts are from his essay, The Duties of Man, which was directed to "the Italian working man."

Your first Duties — first, at least, in importance — are . . . to Humanity. You are *men* before you are *citizens* or *fathers*. If you do not embrace the whole human family in your love . . . you disobey your law of life. . . .

To you, who have been born in Italy, God has allotted, as if favouring you specially, the best-defined country in Europe. In other lands, marked by more uncertain or more interrupted limits, questions may arise which the pacific vote of all will one day solve, but which have cost, and will yet perhaps cost, tears and blood; in yours, no. God has stretched around you sublime and indisputable boundaries, on one side the highest mountains of Europe, the Alps; on the other the sea, the immeasurable sea. Take a map of Europe and place one point of a pair of compasses in the north of Italy on the Parma; point the other to the mouth of the Var, and describe a semicircle with it in the direction of the Alps; this point, which will fall, when the semicircle is completed, upon the mouth of the Isonzo, will have marked the frontier which God has given you. As far as this frontier this language is spoken and understood; beyond this you have no rights. Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and the smaller islands between them and the mainland of Italy belong undeniably to you. Brute force may for a little while contest these frontiers with you, but they have been recognized from of old by the tacit general consent of the peoples; and the day when, rising with one accord for the final trial, you plant your tricoloured flag upon that frontier, the whole of Europe will acclaim risen Italy, and receive her into the community of nations. To this final trial all your efforts must be directed.

Without Country you have neither name, token, voice, nor rights, no

admission as brothers into the fellowship of Peoples.

Joseph Mazzini, *The Duties of Man and Other Essays*, Everyman's Library, J. M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1915, pp. 51, 53.

1. What is meant by the theory of "natural frontiers"? Did Mazzini believe in this?
2. What did he consider to be the natural frontiers of Italy? Are these the frontiers today?
3. Why did Mazzini claim that these natural frontiers had not been used?
4. What advantages would a united Italy have?
5. What did Mazzini consider to be the first duty of Italians?
6. Upon what did Mazzini claim that the foundation of a nation was based?
7. Comment on the boundaries of Canada in the light of Mazzini's statement about natural frontiers.
8. Consult a map of the world to determine which present political states are bounded by natural frontiers.

13 *The Communist Manifesto, 1848*

Karl Marx, who was born in Prussia, is known as the father of modern socialism. As a young man he took an interest in various types of socialist organization. In 1842 he became editor of a Cologne newspaper, but his political articles were so radical that he had to leave Germany. In Paris he met Friedrich Engels and they found their views on revolutionary problems to be identical. There the two men decided to organize an international working-class movement dedicated to the principles of communism.

In Brussels in 1847, Marx and Engels were commissioned by the Communist League of revolutionary groups to write a statement of principles. This program became known throughout the world as The Communist Manifesto. The following excerpt is taken from it.

From 1849 Marx spent the rest of his life in London where he produced the monumental three-volume Das Kapital (Capital). This analysis of the capitalist system of society develops the theory of the exploitation of the working

class by the capitalist class. It has been translated into almost every language and has become basic to the doctrines of modern communism.

The first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organized as a ruling class.

... In the most advanced countries the following will be pretty generally applicable:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the population over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc., etc.

Karl Marx, *The Communist Manifesto and Other Writings*, (ed. Max Eastman), The Modern Library, Random House, New York, 1932, pp. 342, 343.

1. What is meant by proletariat? bourgeoisie?
2. What happened in Germany in 1848?
3. According to the above, if Communists gained control of a state, how would they punish emigrants? Who would the emigrants probably be?
4. How was the working class to gain control?
5. Why did the authors of these statements have to move about so much in Europe?
6. Why would England permit them to live and work in London? What

conclusion do you draw about the relative personal freedom in the various countries of western Europe at that time?

7. Which of the statements apply to present-day Russia?
 8. Do any of these statements apply to present-day Canada? If so, explain why.
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14 *Bismarck Opposes Parliament in Germany, 1862*

William I, King of Prussia, had resolved to increase the army, but his proposed armaments budget was opposed by the Landtag (Parliament). In this crisis he appointed Otto von Bismarck as Chancellor. Bismarck successfully defied the Landtag and became one of the most powerful men in Europe during the last half of the nineteenth century. As the "Iron Chancellor" of Prussia he centralized the government, formed the German Empire by forcibly uniting the German states, and made Germany one of the leading industrial and military powers in Europe.

The following quotation describes his appointment to the Chancellorship, his ideas on government, and gives a suggestion of his plans for German unity.

The idea of the King's abdication was fresh and . . . only became clear to me when his Majesty defined it in some such words as these: "I will not reign if I cannot do it in such a fashion as I can be answerable to God, my conscience, and my subjects. But I cannot do that if I am to rule according to the will of the present majority in parliament, and I can no longer find any ministers prepared to conduct my government without subjecting themselves and me to the parliamentary majority. I have therefore resolved to lay down my crown, and have already sketched out the proclamation for my abdication." . . .

The King asked me whether I was prepared as minister to advocate the reorganization of the army, and when I assented he asked me further whether I would do so in opposition to the majority in parliament and its resolutions. When I asserted my willingness, he finally declared, "Then it

is my duty, with your help, to attempt to continue the battle, and I shall not abdicate."

[*About one week later*]

An interview was to set his Majesty at rest about a speech made by me in the Budget Commission on September 30, which had aroused some excitement, and which, though not taken down in shorthand, had still been reproduced with tolerable accuracy in the newspapers. . . .

Prussia — such was the point of my speech — as a glance at the map will show, could no longer wear unaided on its long narrow finger the panoply which Germany required for its security; that must be equally distributed over all German peoples. We should get no nearer the goal by speeches, associations, decisions of majorities; we should be unable to avoid a serious contest, a contest which could only be settled by blood and iron. In order to secure our success in this the deputies must place the greatest possible weight of blood and iron in the hands of the King of Prussia, in order that according to his judgement he might throw it into one scale or another.

Bismarck, the Man and the Statesman, being reflections and reminiscences of Otto Prince von Bismarck, (trans. A. V. Butler), Vol. 1, Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1898, pp. 291, 310.

1. Why was the King of Prussia planning to abdicate?
2. What did Bismarck promise to do?
3. What type of government did Bismarck and the King support? What other earlier kings had similar beliefs?
4. Find the meaning of "panoply." What did Bismarck mean when he used the word?
5. What part of the above article showed that Bismarck believed in nationalism and a united Germany?
6. What efforts to achieve unity did Bismarck consider unsuccessful?
7. What was implied by the phrase "blood and iron"?
8. How and to what purpose would blood and iron be used?
9. Can you think of a nation whose peoples were unified by means other than blood and iron? By what other means was unification achieved?
10. Can you think of other statesmen at other times who have used Bismarck's method of blood and iron? When and where?

15

How Stanley Found Livingstone, 1871

In the nineteenth century there was increasing interest in Africa as a result of stories told by explorers and missionaries. One of the greatest explorer-missionaries was David Livingstone, who was sent to Africa by an English Protestant missionary society. He made many expeditions to the heart of the continent. Four years passed without any news from him, and Henry M. Stanley was sent to Africa by the New York Herald to discover what had happened. Stanley's account was widely read and his vivid descriptions increased interest in the continent. The following sections from his book tell how he was first commissioned to search for Livingstone and how he succeeded.

October 17, 1869

I went straight to the Grand Hotel, and knocked on the door of Mr. Bennett's room.

"Come in," I heard a voice say.

Entering I found Mr. Bennett in bed.

"Who are you?" he asked.

"My name is Stanley!" I answered.

"Ah, yes! sit down; I have important business on hand for you."

After throwing over his shoulders his *robe-de-chambre*, Mr. Bennett asked, "Where do you think Livingstone is?"

"I really do not know, sir!"

"Do you think he is alive?"

"He may be, and he may not be!" I answered.

"Well, I think he is alive, and that he can be found, and I am going to send you to find him."

"What!" said I, "do you really think I can find Dr. Livingstone? Do you mean me to go to Central Africa?"

"Yes; I mean that you shall go, and find him wherever you may hear that he is, and to get what news you can of him. . . . Of course you will act according to your own plans, and do what you think best — BUT FIND LIVINGSTONE!"

November 10th Friday, 1871

We were now about three hundred yards from the village of Ujiji, and the crowds are dense about me. Suddenly I hear a voice on my right say,

“Good morning, sir!”

Startled at this greeting in the midst of such a crowd of black people, I turned sharply around in search of the man, and see him at my side, with the blackest of faces, but animated and joyous — a man dressed in a long white shirt, with a turban of American sheeting around his woolly head, and I ask:

“Who the mischief are you?”

“I am Susi, the servant of Dr. Livingstone,” said he, smiling, and showing a gleaming row of teeth.

“What! Is Dr. Livingstone here?”

“Yes, sir.”

“In this village?”

“Yes, sir,” . . .

I did that which I thought most dignified. I pushed back the crowds, and passing from the rear, walked down a living avenue of people, until I came in front of the semi-circle of Arabs, in front of which stood the white man with the grey beard. As I advanced slowly towards him I noticed he was pale, looked wearied, had a grey beard, wore a bluish cap with a faded gold band round it, had on a red-sleeved waistcoat, and a pair of grey tweed trousers. I would have run to him, only I was a coward in the presence of such a mob — would have embraced him, only he being an Englishman, I did not know how he would receive me; so I did what cowardice and false pride suggested was the best thing — walked deliberately to him, took off my hat, and said:

“Dr. Livingstone, I presume?”

“Yes,” said he, with a kind smile, lifting his cap slightly.

Stanley, Henry M.: *How I Found Livingstone*, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1874, pp. xvi, 409-412.

1. Try to decide why Mr. Stanley expressed surprise at the request of the editor.
2. Can you think of an assignment today which would leave a news reporter gasping?
3. How long did Stanley have to travel before he found Livingstone?
4. Mention some of the problems Stanley would have to face on his expedition.
5. Why did Stanley greet Livingstone in such a formal manner?
6. What was Livingstone doing in Africa?

7. Can you think of any Europeans or North Americans who have done similar work in Africa in recent times?
8. In which present-day African country is Ujiji located?
9. Read about Stanley's later explorations and tell what other regions of Africa he discovered.
10. Find some place names which perpetuate the memory of these men.

*Part Three: The Twentieth
Century*

16

Britain and Canada Enter World War 1, 1914

Events following the assassination of the Archduke Ferdinand at Sarajevo moved quickly. Germany came to the support of her ally Austria-Hungary, and declared war on Serbia's two supporters, Russia and France. Britain had signed the Triple Entente with these two countries but had no cause to enter the war until Germany invaded Belgium.

BRITAIN ENTERS THE WAR

On 2 August the German Minister to Brussels presented an ultimatum demanding agreement to a German advance against France through Belgian territory. The Belgian Government "firmly resolved to repel by all means in its power every attack upon its rights," and King Albert asked for French and British aid. The British Government was now assured that the House of Commons would support a policy of resistance to Germany, and on the morning of the 4th, as news came of a German violation of Belgian soil, Sir Edward Grey sent an ultimatum giving Berlin until midnight to withdraw her demands on Belgium. In an interview with the British Ambassador, Bethman-Hollweg deplored the terrible step taken by His Majesty's Government, that "just for a scrap of paper Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her." The time limit passed without a satisfactory reply.

Britain was at war with Germany.

CANADA SUPPORTS GREAT BRITAIN

When a quarter of a century later the Second World War broke out, the Canadian Government was firmly committed to a policy of not involving the country in hostilities without first consulting Parliament. As a result, in 1939 Canada formally remained "neutral for one week after the declaration of war by Britain." In 1914, however, seventeen years before the enactment of the Statute of Westminster, Canada's constitutional position within the Empire gave her little share in formulating foreign policy and none in declaring war or making peace. She found herself at war through the action of the British Government. "She had not been con-

sulted; she had herself made no declaration of war; and she had in no way taken part in the diplomatic exchanges which had led to the final catastrophe."

Nicholson, Col. G. W. L.: *Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1962, p. 5.

1. Why did the Germans prefer to advance against France through Belgium rather than invading France directly further south?
2. What was an ultimatum?
3. What were the official positions of Sir Edward Grey and Von Bethman-Hollweg?
4. On what date did Britain enter World War I? On what date did Canada enter the war?
5. What was meant by the "scrap of paper"?
6. How did the Statute of Westminster, 1931, alter the position of Canada within the British Empire?
7. Explain clearly the different methods by which Canada was involved in each of the World Wars.

17 *The First World War, 1914-1918*

Most of the fighting on the Western Front in the First World War was done in trenches, with little advance made by either side. The first excerpt describes one of the battles which was most costly to both sides. The second excerpt describes the introduction of a new weapon, the tank.

THE BATTLE OF THE SOMME, 1916

During August and the first half of September the British maintained heavy pressure on the Germans. Haig's intention was by "giving the enemy no rest and no respite from anxiety" to wear down his weakening resistance to a point where another powerful attack would break through his remaining defences. By the time Ginchy fell on 9 September most of the Second Position was in British hands, and along the Somme the French had almost reached Peronne. At the point of deepest

penetration the line had been advanced about 7,000 yards. The two months of ceaseless fighting to the end of August had cost nearly 200,000 British and more than 70,000 French casualties. The Germans, committed to a costly defence by von Falkenhayn's order of 2 July not to abandon one foot of ground or to retake it at all costs if lost, had suffered an estimated 200,000 casualties.

Nicholson, Col. G. W. L.: *Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1962, p. 163.

1. Locate on a map the Somme. When did the battle take place?
2. What was the purpose of the battle?
3. About how many miles had the Allies advanced in two months?
4. What were the total casualties? Account for this heavy number.
5. The Somme has been called a "battle of attrition." Explain.
6. How does this battle show the difference in methods between the First and Second World Wars? Why were casualties in the Second War comparatively less?
7. Account for the fact that while the First World War on the Western Front was fought almost entirely in trenches, the Second World War had little trench warfare.

THE FIRST USE OF TANKS

The presence of the tanks encouraged many Germans to surrender, and brought from some of these bitter criticism that it was "not war but bloody butchery." On the whole, however, the armour in its initial action failed to carry out the tasks assigned to it (though one tank, besides inflicting both physical and moral damage on the enemy, laid telephone wire from the forward infantry positions to the rear). All six tanks with the Canadians, either through becoming stuck or breaking down, were put out of action before or during the attack, in four cases as a result of shell-fire. One failed to cross the start line; and of the other five, only one reached its objective. Of the 32 tanks on the Fourth Army's start line at zero hour, only ten got fully forward to help the infantry win their objectives.

Senior German commanders, on the other hand, were so little impressed with the tank that they did not — much to our advantage — immediately attempt to copy it; nor did they give due attention to the problem of anti-tank defence.

Nicholson, Col. G. W. L.: *Canadian Expeditionary Force, 1914-1919*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1962, pp. 169-170.

1. Find a picture of a tank in a reference book, and describe it.
2. Which side was the first to use tanks?
3. Why were the German commanders not impressed by tanks at this time?

4. The tank was first introduced during the First World War. What other methods of warfare were introduced in that war?
 5. What characteristics make tanks valuable weapons of modern war?
 6. What innovations might be used in a future war?
-

18

The Revolution in Russia, 1917

Following the abdication of the Tsar in 1916 two groups claimed to control Russia, the Constituent Assembly (based on the Duma) and the Congress of Soviets, selected from the soviets (groups) of workers, soldiers and peasants. At first these two groups co-operated in their efforts to establish a stable government and to prosecute the war. Under the leadership of Lenin the Bolshevik party gained strength and seized power by a coup d'état. The following excerpts from Russian documents show how the seizure of control started in Petrograd with the Russian sailors and was organized by the Bolsheviks. Note that October in the Russian calendar is comparable to our November.

DISPATCH OCTOBER 25, 1917

To the Chief of Staff of the Supreme Commander:

The Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies has declared the Government deposed and has demanded the transfer of power by threatening the Winter Palace with bombardment from the guns of the Peter and Paul Fortress and of the cruiser *Aurora*. The Government can transfer its power only to the Constituent Assembly. It has decided not to surrender, and to place itself under the protection of the people and of the army. Hasten the dispatch of troops. October 25.

Deputy Minister-President Konovalov

THE ARREST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

On October 26, at 2:10 A.M., Antonov, a member of the Temporary Revolutionary Committee of the Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, arrested [the following

members of the Provisional Government] by order of the Committee: Rear Admiral Verderevskii; Minister of Welfare; Minister of Trade and Industry and Deputy-Minister President; Minister of Agriculture; Minister of Transport; Acting Minister of War; Minister of Labor; Minister of Justice; President of the Economic Council; General for Special Assignments; State Controller; Minister of Education; Minister of Finance; Minister of Foreign Affairs; Assistant to the Special Commissioner of the Provisional Government; Minister of Post and Telegraph; Minister of Confessions . . . Other officers and cadets were disarmed and released. Three files and the portfolio of the Minister of Education were seized.

Note: The names of the men occupying the various offices are included in the original text but have been omitted in this excerpt.

LENIN'S SPEECH BEFORE THE SECOND ALL-RUSSIAN
CONGRESS OF SOVIETS OF WORKERS' AND SOLDIERS'
DEPUTIES

Comrades, the workers' and peasants' revolution, about the necessity of which the Bolsheviki have been speaking all the time, has come to pass.

What is the significance of this workers' and peasants' revolution? First of all, the significance of the revolution is that we shall have a Soviet Government, our own organ of power, without the participation of any bourgeois. The oppressed masses will form a government themselves. The old State machinery will be uprooted and a new machinery of government will be created, embodied in the Soviet organizations.

This is the beginning of a new period in the history of Russia, and the present, third Russian revolution must ultimately lead to the victory of socialism.

One of our immediate tasks is the necessity of ending the war at once. But in order to end this war, which is closely bound up with the present capitalistic system, it is clear to all that it is necessary to overcome capitalism itself.

We will be aided in this work by the world workers' movement which is already beginning to develop in Italy, England, and Germany.

A just and immediate offer of peace by us to the international democracy will find everywhere a fervent response among the masses of the international proletariat. In order to strengthen this confidence of the proletariat, it is necessary to publish at once all secret treaties.

An enormous part of the peasantry within Russia has said: enough of playing games with the capitalists — we will go with the workers. We shall win the confidence of the peasantry by one decree, which will abolish land-

ownership. The peasants will understand that their only salvation lies in an alliance with the workers.

We will institute real workers' control over production.

You have now learned how to work together in harmony, as evidenced by the revolution that has just occurred. We now possess the strength of a mass organization, which will triumph over everything and which will lead the proletariat to world revolution.

In Russia we must now devote ourselves to the construction of a proletarian socialist state.

Long live the socialist world-revolution.

THE FOLLOWING ARTICLE IS TAKEN FROM THE NEWSPAPER *Izvestia*, OCTOBER 26, 1917, THE LAST ISSUE PUBLISHED BEFORE THE BOLSHEVIKS SEIZED THE NEWSPAPER.

Yesterday we called the Bolshevik uprising an insane adventure. Today, when the attempt was crowned by success in Petrograd, we have not changed our mind. We repeat that this is not a transfer of power to the Soviets, but a seizure of power by one party — the Bolsheviks. Yesterday we were saying that this means the thwarting of the greatest gain of the revolution — the Constituent Assembly. Today we must add that it means the thwarting of the Congress of Soviets and, very probably, of the whole Soviet organization. These are the facts: the Socialist Revolutionary Party and the Mensheviks of the Social Democratic Party have found it impossible, under the present circumstances, to participate in the Congress. The representatives from the front adhere to the same opinion. When these factions depart from the Congress, it will be left only with what it should have been left as a result of a complete Bolshevik overthrow, i.e., with only the Bolsheviks. They can call themselves whatever they please, but this will not alter the fact that the Bolsheviks alone participated in the uprising. All the other socialist and democratic parties are protesting against it.

We do not know how the situation will develop. But we do not expect anything good. We are absolutely certain that the Bolsheviks will not be able to organize state power. And as of yesterday, so also today, we repeat that what is happening will react worst of all in the cause of peace. . . . Today the Council of the Republic was to vote on a special resolution on this question [peace]. But the . . . Palace was occupied by the Temporary Revolutionary Committee and the session will not take place. . . . Consequently all the steps that have been undertaken in the direction of peace have been stopped by the action of the Bolsheviks. What other steps can the Bolsheviks themselves take? They have no possibility now of undertaking anything whatsoever, and they will not have this possibility, simply because

they are not recognized by a single government: by either the Allies or the Germans.

But it is premature to speak of this. To date the Bolsheviks have seized Petrograd but not all of Russia. The danger of a bloody civil war is threatening. Bloodshed and pogroms — this is what we must prepare our way for. This can only be averted, if it is not already too late, by one event; if a democratic government, recognized by all the democratic elements and parties, is formed anew, and if the Bolsheviks agree to submit to such a government.

The entire responsibility for the future of the country now falls on them alone.

Browder, R. P. and Kerensky, A. (ed.): *The Russian Provisional Government, 1917*, Vol. III: Selected Documents, Stanford University Press, pp. 1786, 1790, 1793, 1801.

1. What happened to the Deputy-Minister President the day after he sent the dispatch to the Chief of Staff?
2. Consult your textbook and your dictionaries to find the derivation of the terms Bolshevik and Menshevik.
3. To what three groups did Lenin make an appeal?
4. What social class was being overthrown by Lenin and the Soviets? What aspect of its strength made it hated by the revolutionaries? Why?
5. What are some of the steps used in planning a *coup d'état* as shown in these documents?
6. The Bolsheviks gained most support in the cities, and often little in the rural areas. What section of Lenin's speech shows that he realizes this fact?
7. What sections of Lenin's speech would alarm the western Allies? Why?
8. What is meant by the proletariat?
9. What is *Izvestia* today? Why would it not publish an article like this one now? Which parts of the article were correct in their forecast of future events? Which were false?
10. Can you name another well-known periodical published today in the U.S.S.R.?

19

Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, 1918

In January, 1918, President Woodrow Wilson, speaking to the United States Senate, proposed fourteen points as the basis for a peace treaty. These were not accepted by Germany. The following statements are abbreviated from the complete speech.

1. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at.
2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas . . . alike in peace and war.
3. Equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace.
4. National armaments should be reduced.
5. Impartial adjustment of colonial claims (with consideration of) the interests of the populations.
6. Evacuation of all Russian territory.
7. The evacuation and restoration of Belgium without any limit to her sovereignty.
8. The evacuation and restoration of French territory and the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France.
9. Readjustment of Italy's frontiers along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.
10. The peoples of Austria-Hungary should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.
11. Rumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated and restored.
12. The right of autonomous development to be given to the nationalities in Turkey . . . The Dardenelles should be opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.
13. An independent Polish state should be erected . . . which should be assured . . . access to the sea.
14. A general association of nations must be formed . . . for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees . . . to great and small states alike.

U.S. Congressional Record, 65th Congress, January 8, 1918, p. 680.

1. When did the United States enter the war? How long before the armistice were these fourteen points proclaimed?

2. What is meant by "open covenants"? Why is this method desirable?
 3. What country was supposed to evacuate Russian territory? Serbian?
 4. Which adjustments of territory suggested in this list were made after the war? Consult a map in your atlas.
 5. Why do you think Germany would not accept these suggestions in January 1918 when, within a year, it accepted much harsher terms?
 6. What has been done in recent times to reduce armaments? What are the advantages to be gained by a general reduction of armaments?
 7. What was meant by "autonomous development"?
 8. How did Poland obtain access to the sea?
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20 *Extracts from the Treaty of Versailles, 1919*

At the Paris Peace Conference in 1919-1920 the Allied and Associated Powers drew up treaties to be signed by the five defeated nations; Germany, Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey. The Treaty of Versailles with Germany was the first one signed. It was much the longest treaty, consisting of 15 parts, 440 articles and additional notes. Following are some of the clauses which were to influence later history.

Article 42. Germany is forbidden . . . any fortifications either on the left bank of the Rhine or on the right bank . . . 50 kilometres to the East. . . .

Article 45. Germany cedes to France . . . the coal mines of the Saar Basin.

Article 49. Germany renounces in favour of the League of Nations . . . the territory defined above [Saar] At the end of fifteen years . . . the inhabitants of such territory shall be called upon to indicate the sovereignty under which they wish to be placed; . . . to keep the established regime, union with France, or union with Germany.

Article 80. Germany acknowledges and will respect strictly the independence of Austria. . . .

- Article 87.* Germany . . . recognizes the complete independence of Poland.
- Article 116.* Germany accepts the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk treaties.
- Article 119.* Germany renounces in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers all her rights and titles over her overseas possessions.
- Article 159.* The German military forces shall be demobilized and reduced. . . .
- Article 160.* . . . total number . . . must not exceed one hundred thousand men . . .
- Article 174.* The period of enlistment [of the armed forces] must be twelve consecutive years.
- Article 181.* . . . No submarines are to be included . . .
- Article 198.* The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces.
- Article 231.* The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of Germany and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.
- Article 232.* . . . The Allied and Associated Governments, however, require and Germany undertakes, that she will make compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allied and Associated Powers and to their property during the period of belligerency of each as an Allied or Associated Power against Germany by such aggression by land, by sea and from the air . . .
- Article 428.* . . . German territory situated to the west of the Rhine . . . will be occupied by Allied . . . troops for a period of fifteen years. . . .
- Article 429.* If the conditions of the present treaty are faithfully carried out: at the end of five years there will be evacuated [part of the Rhineland], at the expiration of ten there will be evacuated [part] . . .

U.S. Congressional Record, 66th Congress, July 10, 1919, p. 2339.

1. Consult your textbook to find what statesmen prepared the Treaty of Versailles. Were any defeated nations represented at the Paris Peace Conference?
2. Which clauses reflect the fear that Germany might start another war?
3. Locate the Saar Valley on a map. What special arrangement was made for the Saar?

4. What were the Brest-Litovsk treaties? What did it mean that Germany "accepted the abrogation of the . . . treaties"?
 5. Consult a map to determine which "overseas possessions" Germany relinquished. What is the status of each of these possessions today?
 6. Article 231 is called the "war guilt clause". Why did Germany consider it to be unfair? Why did Germany sign the treaty when she did not agree with it?
 7. What similarities are there between this treaty and the one signed by France at the end of the Franco-Prussian War?
 8. The Treaty of Versailles did not prevent a later war. What changes in the methods of preparation or in the terms of the treaty do you think should have been made?
 9. What economic difficulties would arise from the fulfilment of Article 232?
 10. Germany recovered her prosperity and courage after the war and eventually refused to submit to the terms of the treaty. From your knowledge of postwar developments state which article Germany first refused to accept.
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21 *Extracts from the Covenant of the League of Nations, 1920*

The League of Nations, established in 1919, was the first attempt to organize a form of collective security for all the nations. Below are a few of the more important clauses from its Covenant (or constitution).

The High Contracting Parties, in order to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war; by the prescription of open, just and honourable relations between nations; by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments; and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, agree to this Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 4. 1. *The Council shall consist of Representatives of the Prin-*

cipal Allied and Associated Powers (United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan), together with Representatives of four other Members of the League.

Article 10. *Guarantees Against Aggression.* The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League.

Article 12. *Disputes to be Submitted for Settlement.* 1. The Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either in arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award or the judicial decision, or the report by the Council.

Article 16. *Sanctions of Pacific Settlement.* 1. Should any Member of the League resort to war in disregard of its covenants under Article 12, 13 or 15, it shall ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all other Members of the League which hereby undertake immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations.

2. It shall be the duty of the Council in such case to recommend to the several Governments concerned what effective military naval or air force the Members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

Bulletin No. 6, September 1930, League of Nations Association.

1. Consult your textbook to determine which statesmen took part in the formation of the League.
2. Where was the headquarters of the League? Why would this be a good location?
3. Summarize, in your own words, the purpose of the League.
4. Which countries were supposed to be permanent members of the League Council? Which of these never joined? Explain the reason for this.
5. Explain the following terms: territorial integrity, arbitration, judicial settlement, sanctions, ipso facto, severance of trade or financial relations, severally.
6. Which of the above clauses seems to promise security to weaker nations?
7. For what reasons was the League unable to prevent war?

22

The 25-Point Program of the National Socialist German Workers' Party, 1920

In 1919 Adolf Hitler had no plans and could see little hope for the future. He joined a small group of six other men who were organizing a "German Workers' Party." Under his leadership this organization outlined a program which was to appeal to many other groups besides the workers. When it finally gained control of Germany many of its earlier socialistic doctrines were forgotten. Following are a few of the policies and promises of the original party.

1. The union of all Germans on the basis of the right of self-determination.
2. Equality of rights for the German people in its dealings with other nations, and abolition of the Peace Treaties of Versailles and Saint-Germain.
3. Colonies for the nourishment of our people and for settling our surplus population.
4. None but those of German blood may be citizens.
10. It must be the first duty of each citizen of the State to work for the common good.
16. The middle class must be protected; large department stores must be divided into a number of independent small stores.
19. The Roman Law shall be replaced by a German legal system.
20. Education must serve the German cause, and higher education must be made available to the children of poor parents.
22. Formation of a national army.
23. It must be forbidden to publish papers which do not conduce to the national welfare.

Adolf Hitler: *Mein Kampf*, Reynal & Hitchcock, New York 1939, pp. 686 ff.

1. The name of this party was later shortened. What was the later name? What is it usually called?
2. Which groups in Germany would be attracted to the party because of this title? Why?
3. What were the conditions of the people in Germany at the time that this party was formed?
4. Who was the seventh member to join the party?

5. What was meant by self-determination?
 6. Consult a population map of western Europe to determine where in 1920 there were German people outside the political borders of Germany.
 7. What pressing problem was emphasized in item 3?
 8. What later actions of the party were forecast in item 4?
 9. What is your opinion of item 16? What seems to be the trend in Canada today? What are the pro's and con's of the large versus the small store?
 10. What is your opinion of item 20? How do we endeavour to provide higher education for children of the poor today in Canada? Do we succeed?
 11. Which statements opposed the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles?
 12. What might result from clause 23?
 13. What later policies of Adolf Hitler are to be seen in this program?
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23 *Mein Kampf, 1923*

In Mein Kampf Adolf Hitler describes his early life and his political theories. The book repeatedly refers to France as the enemy of Germany and reveals Hitler's hatred of Communists and Jews. The following are typical examples from a book which is verbose and often repetitious.

The great masses . . . will submit to the strong man rather than dominate the weakling, thus the masses love the ruler rather than the suppliant, and inwardly they are far more satisfied by a doctrine which tolerates no rival than by the grant of liberal freedom; they often feel at a loss what to do with it, and even easily feel themselves deserted.

[OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT]

First and most of all . . . was the visible lack of responsibility on the part of any individual.

Parliament makes a decision the consequences of which may be ever so devastating — nobody is responsible for it, nobody can ever be called

to account. For, does it mean assuming responsibility if, after an unheard-of collapse the guilty Government resigns?

Is it at all possible to make a wavering majority of people ever responsible?

Is not the very idea of responsibility closely connected with the individual?

All propaganda has to be popular and has to adapt its spiritual level to the perception of the least intelligent of those towards whom it intends to direct itself.

The great masses' receptive ability is only very limited, their understanding is small, but their forgetfulness is great.

Everything that today we admire on this earth — sciences and art, technique and inventions — is only the creative product of a few peoples and perhaps originally of *one* race. On them now depends also the existence of this entire culture. If they perish, then the beauty of this earth sinks into the grave with them.

. . . we National Socialists . . . terminate the endless German drive to the south and west of Europe, and direct our gaze to the lands in the east. . . . If we talk about our new soil and territory in Europe today, we can think primarily only of *Russia* and its vassal border states.

Adolf Hitler: *Mein Kampf*, Reynal & Hitchcock, New York 1939, pp. 56, 100, 232, 234, 396, 950.

1. When was *Mein Kampf* written? What events in Hitler's life had occurred in the four years preceding this?
2. Why did Hitler oppose parliamentary government?
3. What did Hitler think of the intelligence of the average person?
4. By using present-day examples explain why you agree or disagree with his theories about propaganda.
5. Why do you think that he believed that Germany should expand eastward?
6. Which statements appealed to German nationalism?
7. Which statements forecast the worst horrors of the Nazi régime?
8. According to the principles stated here who should be held to account for the later persecutions in Germany and the pursuit of aggression by Germany?
9. Give some examples of decisions for action which have recently been made by Canada regarding both internal and external problems. Who made these decisions? Who will be held to account for the success or failure of these actions?

24 *The Statute of Westminster, 1931*

The more advanced British colonies over the years had achieved considerable self-government and control over both their internal and external affairs. They resented their subordinate status to Great Britain and in the Imperial Conference of 1926 adopted a report which proposed that they should be "... autonomous communities within the British Empire ... freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations." The desire became reality with the passing of the Statute of Westminster by the British government. The sections of the Act of most significance to Canada are printed below.

AN ACT TO GIVE EFFECT TO CERTAIN RESOLUTIONS PASSED BY IMPERIAL CONFERENCES HELD IN THE YEARS 1926 AND 1930.

(11 December, 1931)

Whereas the delegates of His Majesty's Governments in the United Kingdom, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland, at Imperial Conferences holden at Westminster in the years of our Lord nineteen hundred and twenty-six and nineteen hundred and thirty did concur in making the declarations and resolutions set forth in the Reports of the said Conferences:

And whereas it is meet and proper to set out by way of preamble to this Act that, inasmuch as the Crown is the symbol of the free association of the Members of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and as they are united by a common allegiance to the Crown, it would be in accord with the established constitutional position of all the members of the Commonwealth in relation to one another that any alternation in the law touching the Succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles shall hereafter require the assent as well of the Parliaments of all the Dominions as of the Parliament of the United Kingdom:

And whereas it is in accord with the established constitutional position that no law hereafter made by the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall extend to any of the said Dominions as part of the law of that Dominion otherwise than at the request and with the consent of that Dominion:

And whereas it is necessary for the ratifying, confirming and establishing of certain of the said declarations and resolutions of the said Conferences that a law be made and enacted in due form by authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom:

And whereas the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland have severally requested and consented to the submission of a measure to the Parliament of the United Kingdom for making such provision with regard to the matters aforesaid as is hereafter in this Act contained:

Now, therefore, be it enacted by the King's most Excellent Majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows

1. In this Act the expression "Dominion" means any of the following Dominions, that is to say, The Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, the Irish Free State and Newfoundland.

2. (1) The Colonial Laws Validity Act, 1865, shall not apply to any law made after the commencement of this Act by the Parliament of a Dominion.

(2) No law and no provision of any law made after the commencement of this Act by the Parliament of a Dominion shall be void or inoperative on the ground that it is repugnant to the Law of England, or to the provision of any existing or future Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, or to any order, rule or regulation made under any such Act, and the powers of the Parliament of a Dominion shall include the power to repeal or amend any such Act, order, rule or regulation in so far as the same is part of the law of the Dominion.

3. It is hereby declared and enacted that the Parliament of a Dominion has full power to make laws having extra-territorial operation.

4. No Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act shall extend, or be deemed to extend, to a Dominion as part of the law of that Dominion, unless it is expressly declared in that Act that that Dominion has requested, and consented to, the enactment thereof.

7. (1) Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to apply to the repeal amendment or alteration of the British North America Acts, 1867 to 1930, or any order, rule or regulation made thereunder.

(2) The provisions of section two of this Act shall extend to laws made by any of the provinces of Canada and to the powers of the legislatures of such provinces.

(3) The powers conferred by this Act upon the Parliament of Canada or upon the legislatures of the Provinces shall be restricted to the enactment of laws in relation to matters within the competence of the Parliament of Canada or any of the legislatures of the Provinces, respectively.

...

11. Notwithstanding anything in the Interpretation Act, 1889, the expression "Colony" shall not, in any Act of the Parliament of the United Kingdom passed after the commencement of this Act, include a Dominion or any province or State forming part of a Dominion.

12. This Act may be cited as the Statute of Westminster, 1931.

22 George V, ch. 4. Prefix to *Statutes of Canada, 1932* (Ottawa, 1932), v-viii.

1. Name the original members of the British Commonwealth of Nations. Which of these are no longer members?
2. What is the status of Newfoundland today?
3. According to this Statute, what is the position of the Crown?
4. Name some members of the Commonwealth today which do not swear allegiance to the Crown.
5. What name is given in Britain to the assembly of "Lords Spiritual and Temporal"?
6. Find two phrases in this Act which state that Canada is not bound by a law passed in Britain today.
7. Must Canada be bound by any law of Britain passed before the Statute of Westminster?
8. What does this Act state about amendments to the British North America Act?
9. Could the government of Britain use the word "colony" in any Act it may pass now?
10. Why do we speak of the "Commonwealth" of Nations today rather than the "British Commonwealth" of Nations?
11. Since 1931 many changes have occurred in the growth of the Commonwealth. List any statements or phrases in the Act as printed here which are now incorrect.

25

The Political and Social Doctrines of Fascism, 1935

In this short article Benito Mussolini describes concisely the beliefs of the Fascist type of government which he established in Italy. Below are a few of the statements.

. . . above all, Fascism, the more it considers and observes the future and the development of humanity quite apart from political considerations of the moment, believes neither in the possibility nor the utility of perpetual peace. It thus repudiates the doctrine of Pacifism — born of a renunciation of the struggle and the act of cowardice in the face of sacrifice. War alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the people who have the courage to meet it.

Fascism denies, in democracy, the absurd conventional untruth of political equality, dressed out in the garb of collective responsibility and the myth of “happiness” and indefinite progress.

Fascism conceives of the State as an absolute, in comparison with which all individuals or groups are relative, only to be concerned in their relations to the State.

Fascism desires the State to be a strong and organic body, at the same time reposing on broad and popular support. The Fascist State has drawn into itself even the economic activities of the nation, and through the corporative social and educational institutions created by it, its influence reaches every aspect of the national life and includes . . . all the political, economic and spiritual forces of the nation.

The Fascist State organizes the nation, but leaves a sufficient margin of liberty to the individual; the latter is deprived of all useless and possibly harmful freedom, but retains what is essential . . . the deciding power in question cannot be the individual, but the State alone.

Political and Social Doctrines of Fascism, International Conciliation, January 1935. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York, pp. 7, 10, 13, 15.

1. Using the above statement as reference, list the beliefs of Fascism.
2. Under Fascism, how were the liberties of the individual to be determined?

3. What is the attitude of Fascism towards state control of: (a) trade (b) industry (c) education?
 4. What are the dangers of having complete control of education under the central government?
 5. Why did Fascism support war?
 6. Which statements of the doctrines do you oppose? Give your reasons.
 7. When Mussolini stated that the "State" made the policies and decisions listed above, what did he really mean?
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26 *War Speeches of Sir Winston Churchill, 1940*

Winston Churchill was a British cabinet minister during and after the First World War. During the 1930's he was a strong opponent of the "appeasement" policy and had apparently little influence in government. In 1940, with the conquest of Denmark, Norway, Belgium and Holland, and the imminent defeat of France by the German army, he was called upon to become Prime Minister of Great Britain. His indomitable spirit and inspired leadership did much to strengthen Britain's war effort. Churchill was the author of many books, mostly on history, and was one of the great orators of modern times. Excerpts from two of his most famous war speeches follow.

SPEECH TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, MAY 13, 1940

I said, "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat." I ended:

You ask, what is our policy? I will say: It is to wage war, by sea, land, and air, with all our might and with all the strength that God can give us: to wage war against a monstrous tyranny, never surpassed in the dark, lamentable catalogue of human crime. That is our policy. You ask, What is our aim? I can answer in one word: Victory — victory at all costs, victory in spite of all terror; victory however long and hard the road may be; for without victory there is no survival. Let that be realized; no survival for the British Empire; no survival for all the British Empire has stood for, no survival for the urge and impulse of the ages, that mankind will move

forward towards its goal. But I take up my task with buoyancy and hope. I feel sure that our cause will not be suffered to fail among men. At this time I feel entitled to claim the aid of all, and I say, "Come, then, let us go forward together with our united strength."

SPEECH TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, JUNE 4, 1940

What General Weygand called the Battle of France is over. I expect the Battle of Britain is about to begin. Upon this battle depends the survival of Christian civilization. Upon it depends our own British life, and the long continuity of our institution and our Empire. The whole fury and might of the enemy must very soon be turned on us. Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this island or lose the war. If we can stand up to him, all Europe may be free and the life of the world may move forward into broad, sunlit uplands. But if we fail, then the whole world, including the United States, including all that we have known and cared for, will sink into the abyss of a new Dark Age, made more sinister, and perhaps more protracted, by the lights of perverted science. Let us therefore brace ourselves to our duties, and so bear ourselves that, if the British Empire and its Commonwealth last for a thousand years, men will say, "This was their finest hour."

Churchill, Winston S.: *The Second World War — Their Finest Hour*, Houghton-Mifflin, 1949, pp. 25, 225.

1. What events had taken place in Europe in April and May, 1940?
2. What happened at Dunkirk? Why would Churchill offer "nothing but blood, toil, tears and sweat" after this?
3. What allies had Britain at this time?
4. What is meant by the "Battle of Britain"?
5. What is the "monstrous tyranny" to which he refers?
6. Why does he say "including the United States"?
7. What did Churchill mean by "perverted science"? Can you think of ways in which such use of scientific invention could work against the good of mankind to create a Dark Age?
8. Mention some changes in the British Empire and Commonwealth which have come about since 1940.

27 *President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Four Freedoms Speech, 1941*

In his address to the Congress of the United States on January 6, 1941, Franklin D. Roosevelt enunciated the famous "Four Freedoms," which he presented as a contribution to the discussion of American peace aims. Here is the concluding section of the speech which summarizes some of the principles of American democracy.

In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms.

The first is freedom of speech and expression, everywhere in the world.

The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way everywhere in the world.

The third is freedom from want, which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants everywhere in the world.

The fourth is freedom from fear — which, translated into world terms, means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor — anywhere in the world.

U.S. Congressional Record, 77th Congress, January 6, 1941, p. 46.

1. What is the Congress of the United States? Upon what occasions does the President address the Congress?
2. Name some other documents which support the belief in freedom of speech.
3. What is meant by "religious toleration"? How did F. D. Roosevelt state this idea?
4. What is meant by "freedom from want"?
5. "Freedom from fear" in this excerpt suggests freedom from the threat of hostile invasion. What are some of the other fears which people have in the world of today?
6. Using each "fear" separately name a place in the modern world where it exists today.
7. What is Canada doing to help overcome these problems in the world?

28

The Atlantic Charter, 1941

In August 1941 President F. D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill met on board American and British warships off the coast of Newfoundland. The outcome of this conference was a joint statement which is known as the Atlantic Charter. In it the two leaders announced their support of democratic principles which would prevail after the war.

The President of the United States of America and the Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill, representing His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, being met together, deem it right to make known certain common principles in the national policies of their respective countries on which they base their hopes for a better future for the world.

First, Their countries seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other;

Second, They desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned;

Third, They respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them;

Fourth, They will endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all States, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity;

Fifth, They desire to bring about the fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing, for all, improved labor standards, economic adjustment and social security;

Sixth, After the final destruction of the Nazi tyranny, they hope to see established a peace which will afford all nations the means of dwelling in safety within their own boundaries, and which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want;

Seventh, Such a peace should enable all men to traverse the high seas and oceans without hindrance;

Eighth, They believe that all of the nations of the world, for realistic

as well as spiritual reasons, must come to the abandonment of the use of force. Since no future peace can be maintained if land, sea or air armaments continue to be employed by nations which threaten, or may threaten, aggression outside of their frontiers, they believe, pending the establishment of a wider and permanent system of general security, that the disarmament of such nations is essential. They will likewise aid and encourage all other practicable measures which will lighten for peace-loving peoples the crushing burden of armaments.

U.S. Congressional Record, 77th Congress, August 14, 1941, p. 7217.

1. When did the United States enter the war?
2. Explain the phrase "seek no aggrandizement."
3. Which phrase is repeated from Roosevelt's Four Freedoms?
4. What is the ultimate aim of the agreement?
5. Explain why you think that the principles of this agreement have or have not been adopted since 1945.

29 *War Message of President Roosevelt on Japan, 1941*

A surprise attack by Japan on United States' bases in the Pacific Ocean forced the Americans into World War II on the side of the Allied nations.

Yesterday, December 7, 1941 — A date which will live in infamy — the United States of America was suddenly and deliberately attacked by naval and air forces of the Empire of Japan.

The United States was at peace with that nation and at the solicitation of Japan, was still in conversation with its Government and its Emperor looking toward the maintenance of peace in the Pacific.

Indeed, one hour after Japanese air squadrons had commenced bombing Oahu, the Japanese Ambassador to the United States and his colleague delivered to the Secretary of State a formal reply to a recent American message. While this reply stated that it seemed useless to continue the

existing diplomatic negotiations, it contained no threat or hint of war or armed attack.

It will be recorded that the distance of Hawaii from Japan makes it obvious that the attack was deliberately planned many days or even weeks ago. During the intervening time, the Japanese Government has deliberately sought to deceive the United States by false statements and expressions of hope for continued peace.

The attack yesterday on the Hawaiian Islands has caused severe damage to American naval and military forces. Very many American lives have been lost. In addition, American ships have been reported torpedoed on the high seas between San Francisco and Honolulu. . . .

U.S. Congressional Record, 77th Congress, December 8, 1941, p. 9504.

1. On December 7, 1941 how long had China been at war against Japan? How long had Britain and the Commonwealth been fighting Germany? Had Germany invaded Russia?
2. What naval base in Hawaii was attacked by Japan? What other American islands were attacked at this time? What British port was captured soon after this?
3. How would you uphold the theory that the Japanese attack had been planned for some time?
4. Why do you think that the Japanese made this sudden raid on the American fleet?
5. What circumstance made the Japanese attack particularly unexpected?
6. What are the arguments pro and con a formal declaration of war before combat begins?
7. Do you think that the United States would have entered the war if it had not been attacked by Japan at this time? Give reasons for your answer.

30 *The Declaration of Moscow, 1943*

By 1943 allied leaders were beginning to plan for the victorious ending of the war. Several conferences of leaders were held, one of the most significant being at Moscow. Representatives of the United Nations (which the Allies were called after 1942) discussed co-ordination of their war efforts, outlined the peace terms to be offered to their enemies when defeated, outlined the treatment of occupied territories, and planned to establish an international organization for peace and security. The foreign ministers of the United States, the Soviet Union and Great Britain drafted numerous agreements. As Russia was not then at war with Japan, China could not enter into the discussions but it did agree with the decisions. The following Declaration, sometimes called the Moscow Pact, is of particular interest because it was the first proposal for a United Nations Organization. The four powers were to meet again in 1944 at Dumbarton Oaks when they drafted the first concrete plans for the organization.

DECLARATION ON GENERAL SECURITY

The Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and China:

united in their determination, in accordance with the Declaration by the United Nations of January 1, 1942, and subsequent declarations, to continue hostilities against those axis powers with which they respectively are at war until such powers have laid down their arms on the basis of unconditional surrender;

conscious of their responsibility to secure the liberation of themselves and the peoples allied with them from the menace of aggression;

recognizing the necessity of ensuring a rapid and orderly transition from war to peace and of establishing and maintaining international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments;

jointly declare:

1. That their united action, pledged for the prosecution of the war against their respective enemies will be continued for the organization and maintenance of peace and security.

2. That those of them at war with a common enemy will act together

in all matters relating to the surrender and disarmament of that enemy.

3. That they will take all measures deemed by them to be necessary to provide against any violation of the terms imposed upon the enemy.

4. That they recognize the necessity of establishing at the earliest practicable date a general international organization, based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all nations for the maintenance of peace and security in which all peace-loving nations, great and small, may play their part.

5. That for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security pending the re-establishment of law and order and the inauguration of a system of general security, they will consult with one another and as occasion requires with other members of the United Nations with a view to joint action on behalf of the community of nations.

6. That in connection with the foregoing purpose they will establish a technical commission to advise them on the military problems involved including the composition and strength of the forces available in an emergency arising from a threat to peace.

7. That they will not employ their military forces within the territories of other States except for the purposes envisaged in this declaration and after joint consultation and agreement.

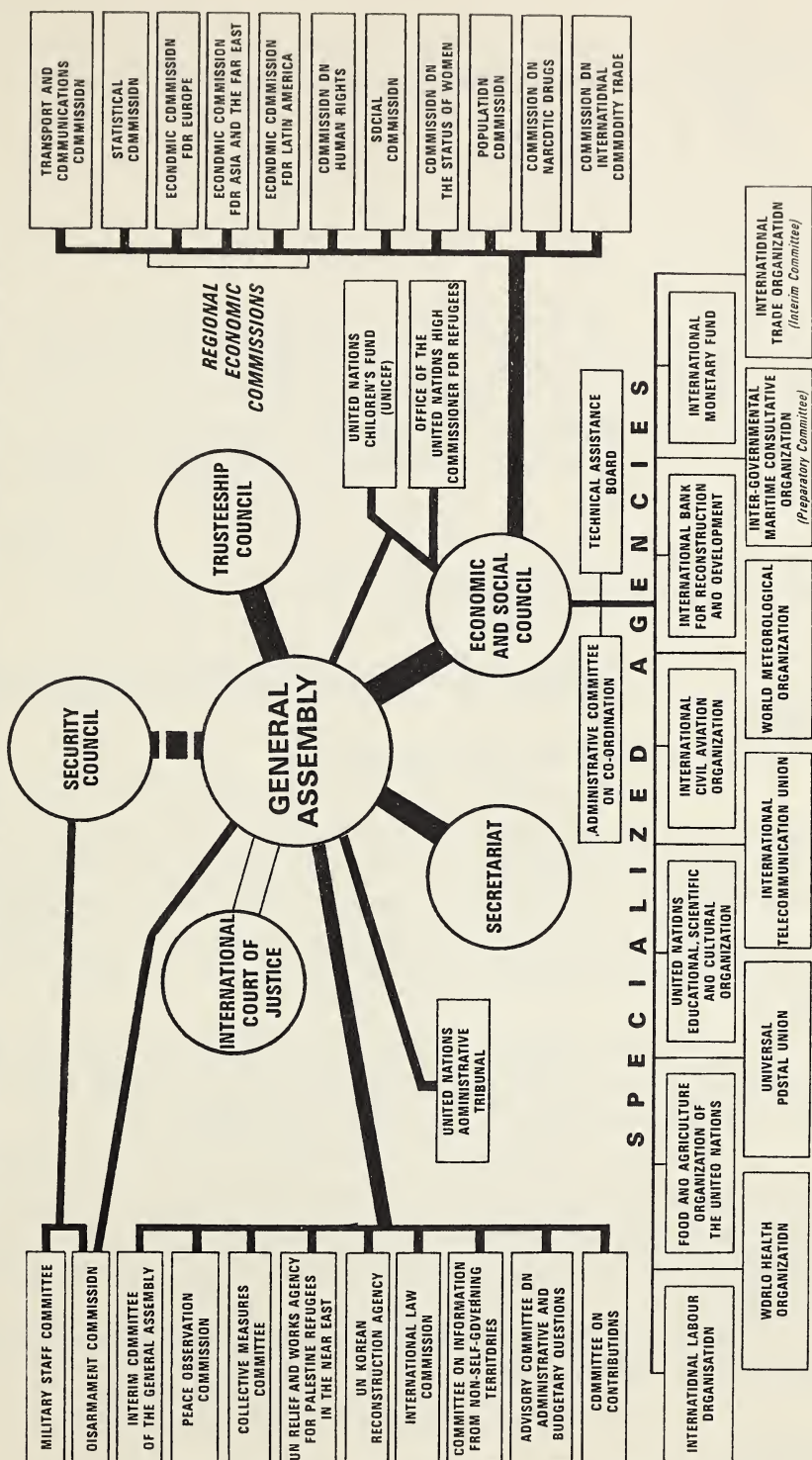
8. That they will confer and co-operate with one another and with other members of the United Nations to bring about a practicable general agreement with respect to the regulation of armaments in the post-war period.

V. Molotov, Anthony Eden, Cordell Hull, Foo Ping-Sheung
Foreign Relations of the United States, 1943, Vol. 1, General. Department
of State publication no. 7585. page 532.

1. What is the difference between the United Nations of 1943 and the United Nations of today?
2. Name the foreign ministers of the "Big Three" in 1943.
3. What is meant by "unconditional surrender"?
4. What would the requirements be for membership in a post-war international organization?
5. What would be the purpose of such an international organization?
6. What does the declaration say about post-war disarmament? To what extent has this been successful?
7. Which nation today is a permanent member of the Security Council of the United Nations but was not at the Moscow Conference? How do you explain this?

*Part Four: The Postwar
World*

ORGANS OF THE UNITED NATIONS



31 *The United Nations Charter, 1945*

As World War II was drawing to a close, representatives of the Allied Nations met at San Francisco to establish an organization which would maintain peace. From this beginning the United Nations has grown into a powerful group of states with a membership of over 110 nations. In the preamble to the Charter are stated the reasons for establishing the United Nations. Among them are these: "To save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, and to promote social progress." The following selections from the Charter were chosen because they have been significant to the post-war world.

ARTICLES FROM THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED NATIONS

Article 1

The Purposes of the United Nations are:

1. To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2. To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3. To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

4. To be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

...

Article 2

1. The Organization is based on the principle of the sovereign equal-

ity of all its Members.

Article 4

1. Membership in the United Nations is open to all other peace-loving states which accept the obligations contained in the present Charter.

...

Article 23

1. The Security Council shall consist of eleven Members of the United Nations. The Republic of China, France, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America shall be permanent members of the Security Council. The General Assembly shall elect six other Members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council.

...

2. The non-permanent members of the Security Council shall be elected for a term of two years.

...

Article 27

2. Decisions of the Security Council on procedural matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members.

3. Decisions of the Security Council on all other matters shall be made by an affirmative vote of seven members including the concurring votes of the permanent members; provided that . . . a party to a dispute shall abstain from voting.

Article 34

The Security Council may investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute . . .

Article 41

The Security Council may decide what measures not involving the use of armed force are to be employed to give effect to its decisions, and it may call upon the Members of the United Nations to apply such measures. These may include complete or partial interruption of economic relations and of rail, sea, air, postal, telegraphic, radio, and other means of communication, and the severance of diplomatic relations.

Article 42

Should the Security Council consider that measures provided for in Article 41 would be inadequate or have proved to be inadequate, it may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of Members of the United Nations.

United Nations Office of Public Information, New York.

1. What is meant by a *Charter*? What is the *preamble* to a document?

- Can you name any other well-known charters?
2. Besides the preservation of peace, what other objectives does the United Nations have?
 3. Which article guarantees the rights of small nations?
 4. What is required of a nation which wishes to become a member?
 5. Who are the permanent members of the Security Council? What is meant by the "veto"?
 6. What are some of the peaceful methods by which the United Nations may force an aggressor nation to obey its suggestions?
 7. What does the charter say about the use of force by a United Nations military force?
 8. What are some of the problems facing the United Nations today?
 9. Where does the United Nations have military forces in action today?
 10. Name some nations which have recently been admitted to the United Nations.
-

32 *UNESCO-United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1946*

Besides attempting to maintain peace and to establish security, the United Nations is vitally concerned with social, economic and cultural problems throughout the world. To achieve its many goals the United Nations has supported numerous specialized agencies. One of the most successful and influential of these is UNESCO. Organized in London in November 1945 it was recognized as a specialized agency by the U.N. in June 1946. Its constitution is too long for inclusion in this book, but the following quotations from its preamble and Article I will serve to show the scope of its interests and activities.

The Governments of the States partners to this Constitution on behalf of their peoples declare

that since wars begin in the minds of man, it is in the minds of man that the defence of peace must be constructed;

that ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war;

that the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races;

that the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern;

that a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind.

For these reasons, the States parties to this Constitution, believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth, and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives;

In consequence whereof they do hereby create the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for the purpose of advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established and which its Charter proclaims.

Article I. — PURPOSES AND FUNCTIONS

1. The purpose of the Organization is to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are affirmed for the peoples of the world, without distinction of race, sex, language or religion, by the Charter of the United Nations.

2. To realize this purpose the Organization will:

(a) collaborate in the work of advancing the mutual knowledge and understanding of peoples, through all means of mass communication and to that end recommend such international agreements as may be necessary to promote the free flow of ideas by word and image;

(b) give fresh impulse to popular education and to the spread of culture . . .

by suggesting educational methods best suited to prepare the children of the world for the responsibilities of freedom;

(c) maintain, increase and diffuse knowledge:

by assuring the conservation and protection of the world's inheritance of books, works of art and monuments of history and science . . .

by encouraging co-operation among the nations in all branches of intellectual activity, including the international exchange of persons active in the fields of education, science and culture and the exchange of publications, objects of artistic and scientific interest and other materials of information;

by initiating methods of international co-operation calculated to give the people of all countries access to the printed and published materials produced by any of them.

United Nations Office of Public Information, New York.

1. What is the full name for UNESCO?
2. Why will UNESCO help to maintain peace?
3. What are some of the reasons for war stated here?
4. Why should there be an "increase in the means of communication"?
5. Show that UNESCO is opposed to segregation.
6. Why should books and works of art be conserved?
7. Why does this organization stress the need for education?
8. What are some other specialized agencies of the United Nations?
9. By supplementary reading discover some of the projects undertaken by UNESCO.

33 *Indian Independence, 1947*

The following are excerpts from messages by Jawaharlal Nehru on the independence of India. The first was made on August 15, 1947, when India was given its autonomy. The second was made on May 16, 1949, when India became a republic.

The Appointed Day has come — the day appointed by destiny, and India stands forth again after long slumber and struggle, awake, vital, free and independent. The past clings to us still in some

measure and we have to do much before we redeem the pledges we have so often taken. Yet the turning point is past, history begins anew for us, the history which we shall live and act and others will write about.

It is a fateful moment for us in India, for all Asia and for the world. A new star rises, the star of freedom in the East, a new hope comes into being, a vision long cherished materializes. . . .

We rejoice in that freedom, even though clouds surround us, and many of our people are sorrow-stricken and difficult problems encompass us. But freedom brings responsibilities and burdens and we have to face them in the spirit of a free and disciplined people.

All Honourable Members have been supplied with copies of this declaration [That India be a republic in the Commonwealth] It is a short and simple document in four paragraphs. . . . The [second] paragraph states that the Government of India has informed the Governments of other Commonwealth countries that India is soon going to be a sovereign independent Republic; further that they desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations, accepting the King as a symbol of the free association.

The third paragraph says that the other Commonwealth countries accept this and the fourth paragraph ends by saying that all these countries remain free and equal members of the Commonwealth of Nations. You will notice that while in the first paragraph this is referred to as the British Commonwealth of Nations, in the subsequent paragraph it is referred to only as the Commonwealth of Nations. Further . . . in the first paragraph there is the question of allegiance to the Crown . . . later, of course this question does not arise, because India by becoming a Republic goes outside the Crown area completely. There is reference . . . to the King as the symbol of that association. . . . So far as the Republic of India is concerned, her Constitution and her working are concerned, she has nothing to do with any external authority, with any king, and none of her subjects owe any allegiance to the King or any other external authority. The Republic may however agree to associate itself with certain other countries that happen to be monarchies or whatever they choose to be. . . .

There is no law behind the Commonwealth. It has not even the formality which normally accompanies treaties. It is an agreement by free will, to be terminated by free will.

Nehru, Jawaharlal, *Independence and After*, John Day Co., New York 1950, p. 12, 270 ff.

1. In what way does the past cling to India today?
2. Why does Nehru say that this is a "fateful moment for all Asia"? What is the significance of India's independence (a) to the Commonwealth (b) to other colonies in Asia?

3. What are some of the responsibilities which freedom brought to India?
 4. In what ways did the fact that India was a *republic* in the Commonwealth change the Commonwealth?
 5. Why would India want the word "British" omitted from the British Commonwealth of Nations?
 6. What are some of the problems which have faced India since it became independent?
 7. What nations make up the Commonwealth today? Are any others republics besides India? What would you call the government of Canada?
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34 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948*

This Declaration was adopted and proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations. It recognizes the "equal rights of all members of the human family to be the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world." The Assembly urged all its member countries to circulate the Declaration among all educational institutions and urged each member to pledge support of its thirty clauses. Much progress has been made toward securing the ideals listed but much remains to be done. The following quotations are taken from the thirty clauses of the charter.

Article 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights . . . and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. . . .

Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 7. All are equal before the law . . .

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 11. (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial. . . .

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence . . .

Article 13. (2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion . . .

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression . . .

Article 20. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

Article 21. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote. . . .

Article 23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment . . .

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions. . . .

Article 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family . . .

Article 26. (1) Everyone has the right to education.

(2) Education . . . shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups . . .

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

United Nations Office of Public Information, New York.

1. What organization adopted the Universal Declaration of Human Rights?
2. According to this declaration, list at least five "rights" which each individual should have.
3. Which clauses are similar to the American Declaration of Independence?

4. Which clauses are similar to the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen?
5. In what clauses is the word "equal" used? In what way are people equal?
6. Can you quote five examples from history which would be contrary to this Declaration? Quote the clause on which your example is based.
7. Can you give five examples of events anywhere in the world today where the spirit of this Declaration is not being supported?
8. Are there any of the above clauses which are not upheld in Canada today? If you think so give facts to support your position.
9. "Much progress has been made toward achieving the objectives of this Declaration since 1948." Can you support this statement with facts?

35 *NATO-The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 1949*

Faced by the spread of communism in Eastern Europe, the democratic nations of the West were forced together for collective defence. The result was the formation of NATO. Today this is the strongest organization supporting the democratic way of life that has been developed in Western Europe and North America.

Preamble. The parties to this treaty reaffirm their faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all governments.

They are determined to safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area.

They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence and for the preservation of peace and security.

Article 1. The Parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the

United Nations, to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner consistent with the purposes of the United Nations. . . .

Article 5. The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all; and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concern with the other Parties, such action it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area.

Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

U.S. Congressional Record, 81st Congress, April 4, 1949, pp. A 2132.

1. What do the letters NATO mean?
2. How did the members of NATO hope to be secure?
3. What other purpose besides defence was stated as an aim of NATO?
4. Try to discover what critical events in Europe in 1948 and 1949 were part of the reason for the formation of NATO.
5. Why is Canada an important member of NATO?
6. What nations are members of NATO?
7. Give reasons why Canada should (or should not) remain in NATO.
8. Can you name some other military alliances in the world today?

36 *North Korea Invades South Korea, 1950*

During the last week of World War II Russian troops occupied the northern part of Korea, while American forces occupied the southern part. In the north, a local Communist government was established, while in the south, a republic based on western democratic ideas was formed. The United Nations hoped these two parts of Korea would unite, and, to assist in bringing about unity, they appointed a commission from seven nations. On June 25, 1950, North Korean troops invaded the southern republic. The following quotations are taken from the U.N. resolution, which resulted from this incident, and from the reply by North Korea.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY SECURITY COUNCIL ON JUNE 25, 1950

THE SECURITY COUNCIL, recalling the finding of the General Assembly in its resolution of October 21, 1949, that the Government of the Republic of Korea is a lawfully established government . . . and that this Government is based on elections which were a valid expression of the free will of the electorate of that part of Korea . . . and that this is the only such Government in Korea;

Mindful . . . of the consequences which might follow unless Member states refrained from acts derogatory to the results sought to be achieved by the United Nations in bringing about the complete independence and unity of Korea; and the concern expressed that the situation described by the United Nations Commission on Korea in its report menaces the safety and well being of the Republic of Korea and of the people of Korea and might lead to open military conflict there:

Noting with grave concern the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea,

Determines that this action constitutes a breach of the peace,

I. Calls for the immediate cessation of hostilities; and

II. Calls upon the authorities of North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the thirty-eighth parallel . . .

III. Calls upon all Members to render every assistance to the United

Nations in the execution of this resolution and to refrain from giving assistance to the North Korean authorities.

THE REPLY OF NORTH KOREA

... DECLARATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC.

According information received June 25, United Nations Security Council on insistence Government of United States of America discussed situation Korea in connection with internecine war unleashed by Syngman Rhee clique. Government Korean People's Democratic Republic declares that it does not recognize the discussion and decision of the Security Council on the Korean question as lawful in view of the fact:

1. that the Korean People's Democratic Republic was not brought into consultation on the matter and the question of Korea was decided without the participation of the Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic;
2. because the representatives of a power such as the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics were absent from the Security Council and representatives of the great Chinese power were not admitted.

The United Nations Bulletin, July 15, 1950, pp. 64, 67.

1. Find Korea on a map. Make comparisons as to land area with some region more familiar to you.
2. Which country controlled Korea before World War II?
3. Describe Korea's government from 1945 to 1950.
4. Why did the United Nations have a commission in Korea?
5. Why did the United Nations claim that the government of South Korea was the lawful government? Why would this not apply to the North?
6. Why did North Korea claim that the resolution of the United Nations Security Council was illegal?

37 *The United Nations' Resolution on Korea, 1950*

Would the United Nations use force to stop aggression? Remembering the history of the League of Nations many people believed that it would not. The Korean problem answered this question. Below is the resolution which established a United Nations military force and began the most costly war since 1945.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Having determined that the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea constitutes a breach of the peace,

Having called for an immediate cessation of hostilities, and

Having called upon the authorities of North Korea to withdraw forthwith their armed forces to the thirty-eighth parallel, and

Having noted from the report of the United Nations Commission for Korea that the authorities in North Korea have neither ceased hostilities nor withdrawn their armed forces to the thirty-eighth parallel and that urgent military measures are required to restore international peace and security,

Having noted the appeal from the Republic of Korea to the United Nations for immediate and effective steps to secure peace and security,

Recommends that the Members of the United Nations furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area.

The United Nations Bulletin, July 15, 1960, p. 66.

1. What was the dividing line between North Korea and South Korea?
2. Why did the U.N. decide that war was unavoidable?
3. Study the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931 and decide what influence that crisis had on U.N. actions in 1950.
4. Were the U.N. forces successful in their aims? What is the situation in Korea today?
5. What effects do you think the actions of the U.N. in the Korean question have had on later events?
6. To what other parts of the world has the U.N. sent an international

- force to keep the peace and give protection against aggression?
7. Who pays the cost of such U.N. intervention?
 8. What happens if one of the U.N. Security Council members disapproves of the intervention?
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38 *The Republic of Ghana remains within the Commonwealth, 1960*

In 1957 Ghana became the first all-black colony in Africa to gain its independence. Three years later it was proclaimed a republic. The leader for independence was Kwame Nkrumah, who became the first president of the republic. However, a coup d'état by the army in 1966 dismissed him and suspended the constitution and parliament. Following are excerpts from a speech which he made in London, England, in 1960 explaining why Ghana remained in the Commonwealth of Nations.

Ghana, on gaining independence in 1957, chose to become a member of the Commonwealth of her own free will:

Ghana regards the Commonwealth as an association of free and independent sovereign states, equal in all respects and bound together by a common desire to work together for the good and well-being of its members.

On the 1st July next, Ghana becomes a Republic. This change will not affect Ghana's membership of the Commonwealth nor her relations with other members, nor her deep interest in the successful functioning of the Commonwealth relationship. It is worth stressing what this relationship means to Ghana. The free and frank exchange of views on terms of complete equality between the member-nations is of great value. So is the practice of non-interference in the internal affairs of its members, or with their independence of action and policy, domestic or foreign. These principles are a source of real strength to the Commonwealth. To those principles I would add the active co-operation which takes place among the Commonwealth nations at international meetings such as at the general agreement on trade and tariffs . . . inter-Commonwealth Conferences . . . and the great number of other meetings between the Ministers and others which go on all the time and are of great practical value.

It is natural that we in Africa should judge the effectiveness of the Commonwealth in terms of its significance to the African situation at present and in the future. I believe that the Commonwealth can win African goodwill if it genuinely addresses itself to the great problems which we face in our continent today. Africa is the land of the future. There is not only a ferment of ideas, but also a resurgence of keen national consciousness which seeks its natural outlet in political independence and African unity.

What are the aspirations of Africans? Above all, they desire to regain their independence and to live in peace. They desire to use their freedom to raise the standard of living of their peoples. They desire to use their freedom to create a union of African states on the continent and thus neutralize the evil effects of the artificial boundaries imposed by the imperial powers and promote unity of action in all fields. . . . The Government of Ghana is concerned with racialism wherever it exists in the world, and particularly with apartheid as one aspect of the racial problem in South Africa. My Government is concerned with racialism, not only as a practice repugnant to every decent principle and contrary to Christian faith and ethics, but also because of its effect on the basic principles which determine the existence of the Commonwealth. We believe that the Commonwealth cannot exist as an effective association of nations, all dedicated to the same principles of life, if exceptions are made. . . .

That the Commonwealth is a unique experiment in the history of the modern world no one can deny. That it has an important duty to mankind, most people will agree. I for one would wish to see it live and thrive and thus contribute to the peace, security and progress of the world.

Nkrumah, Kwame: *I Speak of Freedom*, Heinemann, London, 1961, p. 224 ff.

1. What was Ghana called before 1957? What is the capital?
2. What is meant by an independent sovereign state? Does this phrase describe Canada's political situation today?
3. Why did Mr. Nkrumah believe that Ghana should stay in the Commonwealth?
4. What reasons would there be for Ghana leaving the Commonwealth?
5. It has been said that Africa is deeply affected by European influence. What examples of this can be seen in the above speech?
6. What did Mr. Nkrumah consider to be the chief problems in Africa when he made his speech? Are these still problems?
7. What do you understand by a "resurgence of national consciousness"? Can you name an African nation state which existed before European powers took control of Africa?
8. When did the European powers "partition" Africa?
9. What does the speaker mean by "artificial boundaries"? What "evil effects" have they had?

10. Since Ghana became independent it has been watched with great interest by the rest of the world. Why should this be?
11. What is *apartheid*? Why has Ghana led opposition to the policies of the Union of South Africa? What has happened to the relationship of the Union of South Africa and the Commonwealth since the above speech was made?

39 *Security Council Resolution on Cyprus, 1964*

Cyprus is a small Mediterranean island about forty miles from Turkey. Approximately three-quarters of the people are Greek and most of the remainder are Turkish. In 1878 Britain gained control of the island from Turkey. In 1960 the island was granted independence.

When Cyprus became independent two agreements were made by the Treaty of Nicosia. Britain, Greece and Turkey guaranteed the independence of the new Republic. Greece and Turkey promised to protect the island. Both of these countries were permitted to station garrisons on the island and Britain retained two military bases.

The Constitution attempted to protect the rights of both minority groups. The president is Greek, the vice-president is Turkish. Although the Turkish representation in the House of Representatives is a minority it has the right of veto.

Since independence, tension between the two Cypriot groups has developed into almost a civil war. Greece and Turkey have threatened to use military force. The United Nations has been asked to assist.

This is one of the many problems of the United Nations, and the following resolution is included as an example of its work.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Noting that the present situation with regard to Cyprus is likely to threaten international peace and security and may further deteriorate unless additional measures are promptly taken to maintain peace and to seek out a durable solution,

Considering the positions taken by the parties in relation to the Treaties signed at Nicosia on August 16, 1960,

Having in mind the relevant provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and its Article 2, paragraph 4, which reads: "All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations,"

1. *Calls upon* all member states, in conformity with their obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, to refrain from any action or threat of action likely to worsen the situation in the sovereign Republic of Cyprus, or to endanger international peace;

2. *Asks* the Government of Cyprus, which has the responsibility for the maintenance and restoration of law and order, to take all additional measures necessary to stop violence and bloodshed in Cyprus;

3. *Calls upon* the communities in Cyprus and their leaders to act with the utmost restraint;

4. *Recommends* the creation, with the consent of the Government of Cyprus, of a United Nations peace-keeping force in Cyprus. The composition and size of the force shall be established by the Secretary-General, in consultation with the Governments of Cyprus, Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom. The commander of the force shall be appointed by the Secretary-General and report to him. The Secretary-General, who shall keep the governments providing the force fully informed, shall report periodically to the Security Council on its operation;

5. *Recommends* that the function of the force should be, in the interest of preserving international peace and security, to use its best efforts to prevent a recurrence of fighting and, as necessary, to contribute to the maintenance and restoration of law and order and a return to normal conditions;

6. *Recommends* that the stationing of the force shall be for a period of three months, all costs pertaining to it being met, in a manner to be agreed upon by them, by the governments providing the contingents and by the Government of Cyprus. The Secretary-General may also accept voluntary contributions for that purpose;

7. *Recommends further* that the Secretary-General designate, in agreement with the Government of Cyprus and the Governments of Greece, Turkey and the United Kingdom, a mediator, who shall use his best endeavors with the representatives of the communities and also with the aforesaid four Governments, for the purpose of promoting a peaceful solution and an agreed settlement of the problem confronting Cyprus, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, having in mind the well-being of the people of Cyprus as a whole and the preservation of international peace and security. The mediator shall report periodically to the Secretary-General on his efforts;

8. *Requests* the Secretary-General to provide, from funds of the United Nations, as appropriate, for the remuneration and expenses of the mediator and his staff.

The United Nations Review, April 1964, p. 8.

1. Find Cyprus on a map. Make comparisons as to land area with a region familiar to you. Find out what you can about the resources and industries of Cyprus. How do the people make a living?
2. What two groups are quarrelling on the island?
3. Why does the Turkish group oppose revision of the constitution?
4. Which countries are being called upon in item 1 to “refrain from any action or threat of action . . .”?
5. What four countries advised the U.N. Secretary-General about a U.N. force?
6. Who pays for the international force?
7. What part has Canada played in the Cyprus crisis?
8. Find out what is meant by *enosis*.
9. How successful has U.N. intervention in Cyprus been?

40 *The Canadian Bill of Rights, 1960*

The Parliament of Canada, affirming that the Canadian nation is founded upon principles that acknowledge the supremacy of God, the dignity and worth of the human person and the position of the family in a society of free men and free institutions;

Affirming also that men and institutions remain free only when freedom is founded upon respect for moral and spiritual values and the rule of law;

And being desirous of enshrining these principles and the human rights and fundamental freedoms derived from them, in a Bill of Rights which shall reflect the respect of Parliament for its constitutional authority and which shall ensure the protection of these rights and freedoms in Canada.

Therefore Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

PART I, BILL OF RIGHTS

1. It is hereby recognized and declared that in Canada there have existed and shall continue to exist without discrimination by reason of race, national origin, colour, religion or sex, the following human rights and fundamental freedoms, namely,

(a) The right of the individual to life, liberty, security of the person and enjoyment of property, and the right not to be deprived thereof except by due process of law;

(b) The right of the individual to equality before the law and the protection of the law;

(c) Freedom of religion;

(d) Freedom of speech;

(e) Freedom of assembly and association; and

(f) Freedom of the press.

2. Every law of Canada shall, unless it is expressly declared by an Act of the Parliament of Canada that it shall operate notwithstanding the Canadian Bill of Rights, be so construed and applied as not to abrogate, abridge or infringe or to authorize the abrogation, abridgement or infringement of any of the rights or freedoms herein recognized and declared, and in particular, no law of Canada shall be construed or applied so as to

(a) Authorize or effect the arbitrary detention, imprisonment or exile of any person;

(b) Impose or authorize the imposition of cruel and unusual treatment or punishment;

(c) Deprive a person who has been arrested or detained

(i) of the right to be informed promptly of the reason for his arrest or detention,

(ii) of the right to retain and instruct counsel without delay, or

(iii) of the remedy by way of *habeas corpus* for the determination of the validity of his detention and for his release if the detention is not lawful;

(d) Authorize a court, tribunal, commission, board or other authority to compel a person to give evidence if he is denied counsel, protection against self incrimination or other constitutional safeguards;

(e) Deprive a person of the right to a fair hearing in accordance with the principles of fundamental justice for the determination of his rights and obligations;

(f) Deprive a person charged with a criminal offense of the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, or of the right to reasonable bail without just cause; or

(g) Deprive a person of the right to the assistance of an interpreter

in any proceedings in which he is involved or in which he is a party or a witness, before a court, commission, board or other tribunal, if he does not understand or speak the language in which such proceedings are conducted.

3. The Minister of Justice shall, in accordance with such regulations as may be prescribed by the Governor in Council, examine every proposed regulation submitted in draft form to the Clerk of the Privy Council pursuant to the Regulations Act and every Bill introduced in or presented to the House of Commons, in order to ascertain whether any of the provisions thereof are inconsistent with the purposes and provisions of this part and he shall report any such inconsistency to the House of Commons at the first convenient opportunity.

4. The provisions of this part shall be known as the Canadian Bill of Rights.

Statutes of Canada, 1960, 8-9. Elizabeth II, Chapter 44, assented to August 10, 1960.

1. Why did the Parliament of Canada pass this act?
2. What three parts of Parliament must give consent to a bill in order to make it law?
3. May an arrested person insist upon having legal advice? To what other rights is he entitled upon arrest under this law?
4. What happens in a Canadian court if the defendant can speak neither English nor French?
5. When a person is arrested is he presumed to be innocent or guilty?
6. Which of the rights stated in this bill are the same as those in the British Bill of Rights?
7. Can you give examples of discrimination in Canada? What was the reason for discrimination? Would it be legal by this Bill?

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